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ABSTRACT

The four papers which comprise this booklet on supervision are entitled a) Human Resources Supervision; b) The Case for Staff Development; c) The Advisory System and Supervision; and d) Beyond Accountability. The introduction presents previous views of supervision and discusses implications of recent teacher entrenchment. The first paper contrasts human relations supervision with human resources supervision, and discusses motivational theory and job enrichment factors. The second essay strongly advocates staff development activities and proposes a professional growth model involving three components: attitudes, pedagogical skills, and substantive knowledge. The third paper examines the advisory system, which differs from other supervision theories in that it is predicated upon the assumption that teachers are concerned about improving their teaching and will do so given the proper support conditions. This paper lists and defines advisory functions and examines conditions affecting them. The final paper examines the conflict between accountability and improvement/innovation and sketches an evaluation model which is not limited to the dollar expenditure/measurable-results obtained theory of accountability. (HMD)

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PROFESSIONAL SUPERVISION FOR PROFESSIONAL TEACHERS

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FOREWORD

Supervision at its best is an art that can release teachers' initiative, responsibility, creativity, internal commitment, and motivation. This is the theme of the four writers whose papers you are about to read. These are authors who can look at the current supervision scene in perspective and thoughtfully and analytically come to a general consensus on underlying principles to be advocated for supervision.

Perhaps this book is a bit ahead of the times; a harbinger of a person-oriented post industrial society. Supervision in schools just now seems hung up on interpretations of accountability that demand carefully measured productivity or on human relations facades that detract from the human capacity for greatness.

Present supervisory practices, says Sergiovanni, are based on theories of supervision that share a lack of faith and trust in the teacher's ability and willingness to display as much interest in the welfare of the school as that presumed by administrators and supervisors. Yet everything that is done in constructing an educational program comes to its moment of truth when the teacher begins to teach, as Rubin makes so clear.

To release greatness in teachers, what new roles and responsibilities are suggested here for supervisors? This book is packed with ideas for releasing greatness in supervisors so that they, in turn, can find their way into a change-oriented role designed for the improvement of instruction and the development of internal commitment and motivation in teachers.

From this analysis of present supervisory practices and their shortcomings, Sergiovanni moves to a proposal for a more positive alternative. Rubin's professional growth model, and Manolakes' advisory system provide for practical applications of new approaches to supervision.

The management influence on supervision is described by House and he helps us sort out misapplications of management theory to supervision, while clarifying the proper use of goal-setting and discussing new forms of evaluation compatible with supervisory techniques that can release human capacities.

It is with pride that I commend to you this book for careful study and reflection if you have professional responsibilities for the supervision of other educators.

GLENYS G. UNRUH, *President, 1974-75*
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development

INTRODUCTION: Beyond Human Relations

Thomas J. Sergiovanni

This publication is concerned with the question: What kind of supervision for today's teachers? Supervision is a neglected art in need of revival. Conditions are such that improvements in education will increasingly depend upon more fully using and improving the human resources presently available to schools rather than upon introducing substantial new human, material, and economic resources. Supervision can play a key role in this effort, but we cannot permit supervision to emerge with prominence in its old forms. Supervisors lack the necessary theoretical potency and practical power to do the job required in the years ahead. For the most part they rely on images of teachers which are inadequate.

Three Former Images of Supervision

Present supervisory practices in schools are based on one, or a combination, of three general supervisory theories—traditional scientific management, human relations, and neo-scientific management. Traditional scientific management represents the classical autocratic philosophy of supervision where teachers are viewed as appendages of management and as such are hired to carry out prespecified duties in accordance with the wishes of management. Control, accountability, and efficiency are emphasized in an atmosphere of clear-cut boss-subordinate relationships. Vestiges of this brand of

supervision can still be found in schools, though by and large traditional scientific management is not currently in favor.

Human relations supervision has its origins in the democratic administration movement advocated in the 30's and still widely preached and practiced. Human relations supervision was a successful challenger to traditional scientific management. Teachers were to be viewed as "whole people" in their own right rather than as packages of needed energy, skills, and aptitudes to be used by administrators and supervisors. Supervisors worked to create a feeling of satisfaction among teachers by showing interest in them as people. It was proclaimed that a satisfied staff would work harder and would be easier to work with, to lead, and to control. Participation was to be an important method and its objective was to make teachers *feel* that they are useful and important to the school. Personal feelings, permissiveness, and participation were the watchwords of human relations.

Human relations supervision is still widely advocated and practiced today, though its support has diminished. Human relations promised much but delivered little. Its problems rest partly with misunderstandings as to how the approach should work and partly with faulty theoretical notions inherent in the approach itself. The movement actually resulted in widespread neglect of teachers. Participatory supervision became permissive supervision which in practice was *laissez-faire* supervision. Further, the focus of human relations supervision was and still is an emphasis on "winning friends" in an attempt to influence people. To many, "winning friends" was a slick tactic which cast the movement into a manipulative light as being inauthentic, even dishonest.

In 1967 the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development's Commission on Supervision Theory concluded its four years of study with a report entitled *Supervision: Perspectives and Propositions*.[1] In this report William Lucio discussed scientific management and human relations views of supervision and spoke of a third view—that of the revisionists which sought to combine features of both scientific management and human relations. Standard-

[1] William Lucio, editor. *Supervision: Perspectives and Propositions*. Washington, D.C.: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1967.

bearers of the revisionists were the writings of Douglas McGregor, Warren Bennis, Chris Argyris, and Rensis Likert.[2]

If ever a misunderstanding existed between theory and practice, the revisionist movement would be a prominent example. This was largely a paper movement which in practice rarely amounted to much more than a more sophisticated form of human relations. What the revisionist writers intended was never really understood by many or properly implemented on a wide scale. Whereas the earlier human relations put the emphasis on the teachers' social-interaction needs and physical comfort, the revisionist view was articulated as a superficial attempt to make teachers *feel* a part of the school primarily through relatively controlled or safe participation practices. To old human relations add one part participation and stir well. Nothing important seemed really changed. The ideas of the revisionists are still important, I think, and if properly understood and implemented they can lead us away from our present inadequacies in supervisory practice.

Neo-scientific management, the most recently entrenched image of supervision, is in large part a reaction against human relations supervision, particularly its neglect of the teacher in the classroom. Neo-scientific management shares with traditional scientific management an interest in control, accountability, and efficiency. The code words of this movement are teacher competencies, performance objectives, and cost-benefit analysis. The task dimension, concern for job, and concern for highly specified performance objectives, all so lacking in human relations supervision, are strongly emphasized in neo-scientific management though often at the expense of the human dimension. Neo-scientific management relies heavily on externally imposed authority and as a result often lacks acceptance from teachers.

Each of the three images of supervision shares a lack of faith and trust in the teacher's ability and willingness to display as much

[2] Douglas McGregor. *The Human Side of Enterprise*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960; Warren Bennis. "Revisionist Theory of Leadership." *Harvard Business Review* 39 (2): 26-38; 1961; Chris Argyris. *Personality and Organization*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957; and Rensis Likert. *New Patterns of Management*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961.

interest in the welfare of the school and its educational programs as that presumed by administrators and supervisors. In traditional scientific management, teachers are heavily supervised in an effort to ensure for administrators and supervisors that good teaching would take place. In human relations supervision, teachers are nurtured and involved in efforts to increase their job satisfaction so that they might be more pliable in the hands of administrators and supervisors, thus ensuring that good teaching will take place. In neo-scientific management, impersonal, technical, or rational control mechanisms substitute for face-to-face, close supervision. Here it is assumed that if visible standards of performance, objectives, or competencies can be identified, then the work of teachers can be controlled by holding them accountable to these standards, thus ensuring for administrators and supervisors better teaching.

Never fully adequate in the first place, each of the three images of supervision is becoming increasingly inadequate. True, the goals and tasks of supervisors remain largely unchanged. Supervision continues to be a change-oriented role designed for the improvement of instruction and the development of teachers. But, the setting within which supervision takes place has changed markedly.

Teacher Entrenchment

The 70's mark a new era of concern with regard to job satisfaction of teachers. Where previously schools were concerned with decreasing teacher turnover or increasing retention rates, the concern now is for over-retention and a lack of mobility among teachers.

We are now in a period of entrenchment, of teacher surplus, of declining student enrollments, and of economic slowdown. Student enrollments are down drastically in elementary schools and are declining in secondary schools. Birthrates continue to be down and therefore this trend will continue for some time. Good teaching jobs are already difficult to find and teachers will be increasingly less likely to turn over once they obtain employment.

- Though some may consider low teacher turnover as a blessing, it actually poses a number of problems which if not resolved can have grave consequences for the school.

- Teachers who are dissatisfied with their jobs are now less likely to leave. The reasons for staying are too important.
- Teachers who would like to turn over but can't are staying on the job for the *wrong* reasons.
- Large numbers of teachers who are on the job for the *wrong* reasons can have serious, adverse effects on the school and its students.

By and large the teachers we have now are the teachers we will have in the years to come. It is wishful thinking to assume that schools will improve or that changes will be accepted more readily by infusion of substantial "new blood" into the schools. Improvements must be made by relying on the teachers we now have. Thus keeping teachers in effective service as interested, growing, and highly motivated individuals becomes a prime focus of supervision.

Schools are basically comprised of teachers and students and this makes them labor intensive organizations. Ours is not a technically oriented field largely dependent upon automated equipment. Indeed four out of five dollars spent in education wind up in the pockets of teachers, not in equipment, buildings, or materials. When we think of teaching as an occupation we think of teachers, over two million of them. Few other fields can match this labor intensive record. Further, schools are organized so that teachers have wide discretion. Indeed discretion actually increases as one moves down the educational hierarchy into the classroom. The less visible one's job is to other adults, the more discretion he or she has. Teachers can behave pretty much as they wish providing that the direction and activities they choose to undertake or ignore are not interdependent with the work of others and providing that they do not noticeably violate accepted precepts of normative or organizational order.

Implications for Supervision

The labor intensive nature of teaching combined with a period of stability in teacher retention-turnover provide a setting which requires a new emphasis in supervision. Supervisors, for example, will find that most situations they face force them to operate more

as change facilitators than as direct agents of change. For many changes, mere teacher acceptance—even cooperation—will not do if they are to be successfully implemented. Schools are primarily holding companies for people, and not so much structures in and of themselves. Change in education usually means change in teachers. Buildings, schedules, materials, curriculum formats, and other changes should not be ignored but need to be considered in perspective with relationship to change in teachers. In Sizer's words, "Any theory of school reform must start with teachers: they control the system. Subtle matters—their self-esteem, pride, loyalty, commitment—are crucial."[3]

In the final analysis it is what the teacher decides to do day by day with students in the classroom that really matters and this daily encounter needs to be the focus of change. If we fail to reach this daily encounter, we have dealt only with *structural change* but not *internalized change*. The school has wide experience with structural change. Team teaching, modular scheduling, open space, differentiated staffing, multiunit-IGE, packaged teaching materials, informal education, and open campus plans are examples of structural changes. Such changes often seem widespread to the casual observer. But, for those who examine the school carefully it seems that, although structural arrangements of the classroom and school may have changed dramatically, teachers and administrators usually have not. They may still see students the same way; they may still be working under the same assumptions; and for all intents and purposes their behavior and their effect on students may vary little from previous modes. We have been fairly successful in implementing structural changes in schools but not internalized changes and as a consequence we have gained little in the process. Internalized changes, on the other hand, have the capacity to reach the school where it counts—in what teachers believe and how they behave.

Staff stability and teacher entrenchment pose similar problems for supervisors. Teaching is boring work for many teachers. Routine, dull, monotonous, or flat may be more appropriate descriptors. It is, of course, unfair to characterize all teachers this way, for so many are hardworking, committed, and dedicated. Nevertheless, for large

[3] Theodore Sizer. "Educational Reform: Speculation from Retrospection." *Notre Dame Journal of Education* 4 (1): 52; 1973.

numbers of teachers, teaching is boring to them and to their students. The zip and excitement are gone but the teachers stay. The evidence is mounting that significant changes in school effectiveness will not come about as a result of increasing salaries of teachers, decreasing class size, introducing new teaching materials, beefing up the academic training or certification credentials of teachers, reducing the work load, introducing clerical assistants, using performance contracts, and the like.[4] These all contribute a certain amount to effectiveness but their potency cannot compare with powerful social-psychological factors such as internal commitment and motivation to work. The highly motivated teacher must become a high priority concern of supervisors. Simply stated, quality education and effective schools are primarily a function of competent administrators, supervisors, and teachers who are internally committed and motivated to work.[5]

Identity, commitment, and motivation to work then are the ingredients needed in any approach to supervision. This monograph proposes and describes a professional approach to supervision the contributors believe to be particularly suited to today's professional teacher. Teachers need, desire, and deserve more than a supervisory relationship which is concerned with harmony, social needs, and pleasant working conditions. The human dimension is not abandoned in the approach we describe but rather it is elevated to a new level of understanding and importance, one more befitting the professional teacher. The task dimension, with its emphasis on objectives and accountability, is not abandoned either but is conceptualized as an integral part of the design for supervision. The first chapter explores principles and concepts basic to a human resources approach to supervision as an alternative to the human relations approach.

Louis Rubin, in the second chapter, examines the supervisor's role in relation to staff development. Staff development is a crucial

[4] See, for example: Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, editors. *On Equality of Educational Opportunity: Papers Deriving from the Harvard University Faculty Seminar on the Coleman Report.* New York: Random House, Inc., 1972.

[5] See, for example: Rensis Likert. *The Human Organization: Its Management and Value.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967.

task for the human resources supervisor and Professor Rubin brings significant insights and understanding to this focus. Professor Rubin, presently a member of the Center for the Study of Continuing and Professional Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana, has wide experience in education as a professor, educational developer, and practitioner. He has an outstanding record of practice and scholarship associated with human resources, supervision, and staff development and is editor of *Improving In-Service Education: Proposals and Procedures for Change* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971).

In the third chapter, Theodore Manolakes describes and analyzes the advisory system of supervision as a possible example of human resources supervision. Professor Manolakes is in the Department of Elementary and Early Childhood Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana, and writes with firsthand experience of advisory supervision both in the United States and Britain. Professor Manolakes was a codirector of an advisory training program at the University of Illinois and directs a cooperative teacher education program with the University of Bristol, England.

In the final chapter Ernest House examines human resources supervision and its relationship to accountability and evaluation. Professor House is no stranger to the topic of accountability and evaluation, having recently completed a statewide study of Michigan's accountability system. He is editor of *School Evaluation: Politics and Process* (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1973) and has authored numerous articles on this topic. Professor House is a member of the faculty of Educational Administration and Supervision at the University of Illinois, Urbana, and is on the staff of The Center for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation at that University.

Human Resources Supervision

Thomas J. Sergiovanni

A number of factors help determine ways in which supervisory behavior in schools is expressed. The supervisor's past experiences, personal idiosyncrasies, system of values, and beliefs are examples. These, in turn, are expressed in the form of a set of assumptions or a private theory which the supervisor holds for people with whom he or she works.

When one thinks of supervisory assumptions and how they contribute to supervisory behavior, the name Douglas McGregor often comes to mind. McGregor is a household word among administrators and supervisors and his well-known theories X and Y are now thoroughly enshrined in the writings and conversations of supervisors. It seems that the more well-known a set of ideas is in our field, the less understood it becomes. McGregor's ideas are a good case in point. Theory X, for example, is only understood as a rather autocratic approach to supervision not unlike that associated with scientific management. Theory Y, on the other hand, seems not understood at all and indeed in practice usually takes a form similar to, albeit softer than, autocratic theory X.

Human Relations and Human Resources Assumptions

Theory X is the title given by Douglas McGregor to a set of assumptions supervisors have about people. This "theory" is comprised of several systematic and interrelated generalizations, which

significantly influence one's behavior. The assumptions basic to theory X are as follows:

- The average human being has a natural dislike of work and will avoid it if possible.
- Because of this inherent dislike of work, most people must be persuaded, rewarded, punished, controlled, coerced, and directed in order to get them to put forth satisfactory effort toward achieving work goals.
- The average person prefers to be directed, lacks ambition, wishes to avoid responsibility, and wants security above all.

Theory Y is the label given by McGregor to a second set of assumptions which differ quite dramatically from those which comprise theory X. Theory Y assumes:

- That people have integrity, will work hard toward objectives to which they are committed, and will respond to self-control and self-direction as they pursue their objectives.
- The capacity to exercise a high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely distributed among people.
- The average person under proper conditions is not only capable of accepting, but will seek, responsibility.
- Work is as natural to an adult as play is to a child and *under proper conditions* he or she will respond to work with similar joy, vigor, and enthusiasm.[1]

What is not widely understood among supervisors is that behavior associated with theory X assumptions can take two forms, hard and soft. The hard version is a no-nonsense approach characterized by strong leadership, tight controls, and close supervision. The soft approach associated with theory X relies heavily on buying, persuading, or winning people through good, albeit superficial, human relations and benevolent paternalism so that they will be more compliant and accepting of direction from superiors. The

[1] Douglas McGregor. *The Human Side of Enterprise.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960.

emphasis in both soft and hard versions is the same and focuses on manipulating, controlling, and managing people. The assumptions which supervisors hold remain the same regardless of whether hard or soft approaches are used.

Behavior associated with theory Y assumptions, on the other hand, is basically developmental. Here supervisors focus on building identification of and commitment to worthwhile objectives in the work context and upon building mutual trust and respect in the interpersonal context. Success in the work and interpersonal contexts are assumed interdependent, with important satisfactions for individuals being achieved within the context of accomplishing important work. The differences between theory X assumptions and behavior of the hard or tough variety and theory Y assumptions and behavior are easily observable and understood. *Theory X-soft and theory Y, however, are often deceptively similar.* One should not be fooled by this similarity for soft X is readily exposed as one probes just slightly below the surface.

The assumptions of theory X-soft underlie human relations approaches to supervision and those of theory Y characterize human resources approaches to supervision. Confusion between human relations and human resources is a frequent contributor to ineffectiveness for supervisors. Supervisors generally agree with the assumptions basic to theory Y, but in articulating these assumptions in practice, the human relations model tends to be expressed.

Human relations and human resources models are contrasted on three key dimensions: attitudes, the amount and kind of participation, and expectations. This comparison is based on the work of Raymond Miles, Mason Haire, Edwin Ghiselli, and Lyman Porter.[2] In the human relations model, teachers are treated kindly but are not completely trusted or considered bright enough and responsible enough to participate fully in school affairs. By treating teachers in a kindly way it is assumed that they will become sufficiently satisfied and sufficiently passive so that supervisors and administrators can run the school with little resistance. Further, it

[2] Raymond E. Miles. "Human Relations Or Human Resources?" *Harvard Business Review* 43 (4): 148-63; 1965; Mason Haire, Edwin Ghiselli, and Lyman Porter. *Managerial Thinking: An International Study.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966.

assumes the only concern of teachers at work is their own welfare and comfort.

The human resources model assumes that, in addition to personal welfare and comfort, teachers have a desire for and a need for full participation as shareholders in the affairs of the school and that they are prepared to work very hard on behalf of the school as they have the opportunity.

Human Relations Assumptions (Theory X-soft)	Human Resources Assumptions (Theory Y)
With Regard to People	
1. People in our culture, teachers among them, share a common set of needs—to belong, to be liked, to be respected.	1. In addition to sharing common needs for belonging and respect, most people in our culture, teachers among them, desire to contribute effectively and creatively to the accomplishment of worthwhile objectives.
2. While teachers desire individual recognition, they more importantly want to *feel* useful to the school.	2. The majority of teachers are capable of exercising far more initiative, responsibility, and creativity than their present jobs or work circumstances require or allow.
3. They tend to cooperate willingly and comply with school, department, and unit goals if these important needs are fulfilled.	3. These capabilities represent untapped resources which are presently being wasted.
With Regard to Participation	
1. The supervisor's basic task is to make each teacher *believe* that he or she is a useful and important part of the team.	1. The supervisor's basic task is to create an environment in which teachers can contribute their full range of talents to the accomplishment of school goals. The supervisor works to uncover the creative resources of the teachers.

With Regard to Participation (continued)

2. The supervisor is willing to explain *his* or *her* decisions and to discuss teachers' objections to his or her plans. On routine matters, teachers are encouraged in planning and in decision making.	2. The supervisor allows and encourages teachers to participate in important as well as routine decisions. In fact, the more important a decision is to the school, the greater is the supervisor's efforts to tap faculty resources.
3. Within *narrow* limits, the faculty unit or individual teachers who comprise the faculty unit should be allowed to exercise self-direction and self-control in carrying out plans.	3. Supervisors work continually to expand the areas over which teachers exercise self-direction and self-control as they develop and demonstrate greater insight and ability.

With Regard to Expectations

1. Sharing information with teachers and involving them in school decision making will help satisfy their basic needs for *belonging* and for individual recognition.	1. The overall quality of decision making and performance will improve as supervisors and teachers make use of the full range of experience, insight, and creative ability which exists in their schools.
2. Satisfying these needs will improve teacher morale and will *reduce* resistance to formal authority.	2. Teachers will exercise responsible self-direction and self-control in the accomplishment of worthwhile objectives that they understand and have helped establish.[3]

Theory Y assumptions and human resources supervision will not be appropriate for all the people with whom supervisors work. Indeed, many teachers fit the theory X assumptions exactly and others tend to fit somewhere between theories X and Y. For these, the human relations approach or perhaps even the hard theory X approach might be appropriate. Most teachers, however, fit under

[3] Adapted from Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

theory Y assumptions and will respond to human resources supervision.[4]

Understanding principles of motivation and how they affect teachers is an important aspect of human resources supervision. Unlike earlier views of motivation, human resources supervision assumes that satisfaction is not a means to obtaining higher performance from teachers but rather is an end which teachers seek and obtain from successful work experiences.

Understanding Motivation

A basic principle in motivation theory is that people invest of themselves in work in order to obtain desired returns or rewards. Examples of investments are time, physical energy, mental energy, creativity, knowledge, skill, enthusiasm, and effort. Returns or rewards can take a variety of forms including money, respect, comfort, a sense of accomplishment, social acceptance, and security. It is useful to categorize expressions of investment in work as being of two types. The first type is a *participation* investment and the second a *performance* investment.[5]

The participation investment is required of all teachers and includes all that is necessary for teachers to obtain and maintain satisfactory membership in the school. Meeting classes, preparing lesson plans, obtaining satisfactory evaluations from supervisors, following school rules and regulations, attending required meetings, bearing one's fair share of committee responsibility, projecting an appropriate image to the public—in short, giving a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. Teachers not willing to make the participatory investment in work find themselves unacceptable to administrators and other teachers. On the other hand, one cannot command

[4] See, for example: Rensis Likert. *The Human Organization*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967; Frederick Herzberg, Bernard Mausner, and Barbara Snyderman. *The Motivation To Work*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959; M. Scott Myers. *Every Employee a Manager*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970.

[5] The discussion of theories of motivation and the motivation hygiene theory follows sections of Chapter 10, "Motivating Teachers To Work," in: Thomas J. Sergiovanni and David Elliott. *Educational and Organizational Leadership in Elementary Schools*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.

teachers to give more of themselves, to go beyond the participatory investment. In return for the participatory investment, teachers are provided with such benefits as salary, retirement provisions, fair supervision, good human relations, and security. In a sense, we are describing the traditional legal work relationship between employer and employee. We can think of no great achievements that have resulted from merely the traditional legal work relationship. Greatness has always been a result of employers and employees exceeding the limits of this relationship.

The performance investment exceeds the limits of the traditional legal work relationship. Here teachers give far more than that which one can "reasonably expect" and in return they are provided with rewards which permit them to enjoy deep satisfaction with their work and themselves. When we speak of motivation to work, we speak of providing incentives which evoke the performance investment from teachers. It is important to distinguish between the kinds of returns or rewards which evoke each of these investments. One does not exceed the limits of the traditional legal work relationship for more rewards of the same kind. One does not buy the second investment with more money, privileges, easier and better working conditions, and improved human relationships. These are important incentives as we shall see, but their potency is limited. In the next section we examine the motivation-hygiene theory which was developed by Frederick Herzberg.[6] The principles of this theory should help us to understand better participatory investments and performance investments at work.

The Motivation-Hygiene Theory

The following paragraphs give descriptions of important features of the motivation-hygiene theory. These descriptions are stated first in an attempt to sketch out the nature, scope, and potency of the theory. Then a summary of theoretical and research findings provides the origins of the theory.

- There are certain conditions in work which teachers expect to enjoy. If these conditions are present in sufficient quantity,

[6] Herzberg *et al.*, *op. cit.*

teachers will perform only adequately. If these conditions are not present in sufficient quantity, teachers will be dissatisfied and work performance will suffer.

- The conditions in work which teachers expect as part of the traditional legal work relationship are called hygienic factors. Their absence results in teacher dissatisfaction and poor performance. Their presence maintains the traditional legal work relationship but does not motivate performance.

- The factors which contribute to teachers' exceeding the traditional work relationship are called motivators. The absence of motivators does not result in dissatisfaction and does not endanger the traditional work relationship.

- Motivation factors and hygiene factors are different. Motivation to work is not a result of increasing hygienic factors.

- Hygiene factors are associated with the conditions of work and are extrinsic in nature. Examples are money, benefits, fair supervision, and a feeling of belonging. Motivation factors are associated with work itself, and are intrinsic in nature. Examples are recognition, achievement, and increased responsibility.

- Hygiene factors are important, for their neglect creates problems in the work environment. These problems can result in dissatisfaction and lowered performance. Taking care of the *hygiene* factors *prevents* trouble. These factors are not potent enough, however, if the goal is to motivate teachers to work.

- Hygiene factors meet one's need to avoid unpleasantness and hardship. Motivation factors serve one's uniquely human need for psychological growth.

- Satisfaction at work is not a motivator of performance per se but results from quality performance. Supervisors should not use satisfaction as a method of motivating teachers, but as a goal which teachers seek and which is best obtained through meaningful work.

- Supervisors who use job satisfaction to motivate teachers are practicing human relations. This has not been proven to be an effective approach. Human relations emphasize the hygienic factors.

- Supervisors who consider job satisfaction as a goal which teachers seek through accomplishing meaningful work and who

focus on enhancing the meaning of work and the ability of teachers to accomplish this work are practicing human resources supervision. Human resources supervision emphasizes the motivation factors.

● True, not all teachers can be expected to respond to the motivation-hygiene theory, but most can.

In summary, the theory stipulates that people at work have two distinct sets of needs:

One set of needs is best met by hygienic factors. In exchange for these factors, one is prepared to make the participatory investment—to give a fair day's work. If hygiene factors are neglected, dissatisfaction occurs and one's performance on the job decreases below an acceptable level.

Another set of needs is best met by the motivation factors which are not automatically part of the job but which can be built into most jobs, particularly those found in schools. In return for the motivation factors teachers are prepared to make the performance investment, to exceed the limits of the traditional legal work relationship. If the motivation factors are neglected, one does not become dissatisfied, but performance does not exceed that typically described as a fair day's work for a fair day's pay.

The Motivation-Hygiene Factors

Motivation-hygiene theory results from the research of Frederick Herzberg. The model for his research is an interview method whereby workers are asked to describe job events associated with satisfaction at work and job events associated with dissatisfaction at work. Further, the effects of these feelings and events on one's performance at work are examined. Dozens of studies have been conducted using this approach on a variety of workers, from scientists to assembly-line workers, and in a number of countries.

Achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, and advancement are the factors identified by Herzberg as contributing primarily to satisfaction. Their absence tends not to lead to dissatisfaction. These are the motivators, the rewards which one seeks in return for the performance investments.

Policy and administration, supervision, salary, interpersonal relationships, and working conditions are the factors which Herzberg

identifies as contributing primarily to dissatisfaction. These are the hygienic factors, conditions which workers expect in return for a fair day's work.

The Motivation Factors	
Achievement Recognition Work itself Responsibility Advancement	Satisfactions derived from these factors are associated with increased performance. Their absence does not lead to decreased performance but to a state characterized by "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."
The Hygiene Factors	
Salary Growth possibilities Interpersonal relations Status Technical supervision Policy and administration Working conditions Job security Personal life	These are the dissatisfiers which lead to decreased performance if they are not present. Providing for these factors ensures "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay" from teachers but not much more.

The Motivation-Hygiene Theory and Teachers

The motivation-hygiene theory has been tested in educational settings on a number of occasions and with generally supportive results. In one such study, teachers were interviewed following Herzberg's procedure to identify high and low feelings about their jobs and to collect stories which accounted for these feelings.[7]

Achievement and recognition were identified as the most potent motivators. Responsibility, although a significant motivator, appeared in only a small number of the events related by teachers

[7] Thomas J. Sergiovanni. "Factors Which Affect Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction of Teachers." *The Journal of Educational Administrators* 5 (1): 66-82; 1976. For a recent comprehensive review of studies testing aspects of the motivation-hygiene theory in educational settings as well as an extensive analysis of issues associated with the theory see: Gene Schmidt. "Job Satisfaction Among Secondary School Administrators." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1974.

that were associated with satisfaction. We do not take advantage of the motivational possibilities of responsibility in education—this factor is relatively standardized for teachers in that responsibility does not vary much from one teacher to another. Work itself did not appear significantly more often as a contributor to satisfaction. Apparently, elements of the job of teaching as we presently know it are inherently less than satisfying. Among these are routine housekeeping, attendance, paper work, study hall, lunch duty, and the like. The negative aspects of clerk, cop, and custodial roles seemed to neutralize professional teaching and guidance roles for these teachers. Poor interpersonal relations with students; inadequate, incompetent, insensitive, and close supervision; unfair, rigid, and inflexible school policies and administrative practices; poor interpersonal relations with other teachers and with parents; and incidents in one's personal life were the job factors found to contribute significantly to dissatisfaction among teachers.

Herzberg found in his original study with accountants and engineers that, while recognition and advancement were mentioned most often as motivators, the duration of good feelings associated with these rewards was very short. Work itself and advancement seemed to have medium effects but good feelings associated with responsibility lasted more than three times as long as achievement and recognition.

Teachers as Individuals

The motivation-hygiene theory provides simplified answers to rather complex questions. This is a bold theory which provides broad and general guidelines to supervisors interested in evoking the performance investment from teachers. Its boldness and its broad propositions require intelligent caution as one applies the theory to practice. For example, while the theory suggests that by and large only certain factors motivate, it would be wrong to conclude that some teachers are not "motivated" by the hygienic factors. But, under ordinary circumstances, these factors do little more than ensure the participation investment as characterized by "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

Most healthy teachers have the capacity to respond to the principles of the motivation-hygiene theory. Further, healthy teachers

who are deprived of intrinsic work satisfactions which come from the motivation factors seek these satisfactions elsewhere—at home through family membership, hobbies, community activity, sports, and the like. Attention to these aspects of one's life are important to all of us, but the world of work seems the more natural place for professional workers to find satisfaction for their needs of esteem, competence, achievement, autonomy, and self-actualization.

Teachers who seem more interested in hygiene factors than motivation factors can be categorized as follows: (a) those who have the potential for motivation seeking but are frustrated by insensitive and closed administrative, supervisory, and organizational policies and practices; (b) those who have the potential for motivation seeking but who decide to channel this potential into other areas of their lives; and (c) those who do not have the potential for motivation seeking on or off the job. Those in the second and third groups use their jobs as a means to gain or achieve goals not related to the school.

The second group includes many teachers whose goals are a second car, a vacation house, supplementing a spouse's income in order to achieve a higher standard of living, putting a spouse or children through college, and so on. Men in this group often use the teaching occupation as a means to step to another job, such as coaching, counseling, or administration. These teachers are on the job for hygienic and external reasons and not motivation reasons.

The third group includes individuals who seem "fixated" at lower need levels. In a sense, they are obsessed with "avoiding" unpleasantness and discomfort at work to the point where they have not developed the ability to seek satisfaction through the motivators and at higher need levels. Many regard this obsession as a symptom of poor mental health and feel that selection procedures should be devised which will identify and filter out teachers of this type. Tenured teachers of this type will need to be heavily supervised.

Teachers who have the potential for motivation seeking but who elect to seek satisfactions of this kind outside of the school are by and large good teachers who give honest labor in exchange for that which they hope to gain from the school. Extraordinary performance is lacking, however, for strong commitment to the school

and its purposes is lacking. Teachers of this kind will be with us for a long time to come but they cannot be depended upon substantially to upgrade the nation's schools or to display much interest in becoming full partners in the school enterprise unless they can become attracted to the motivation factors.

Teachers interested primarily in hygienic factors but who have motivational potential can make significant contributions to the school's work if kindly but firmly and competently supervised or when combined with motivation seekers in schools with differentiated roles and responsibilities. Hygiene seeking teachers who have the potential for motivation seeking but who are frustrated by the school and its administration are unfortunate casualties. When we deny teachers motivation expressions, we waste not only valuable human resources but we deny school youngsters important opportunities. In general, hygiene seeking teachers think of their jobs primarily (perhaps excessively is a better word *for all of us are reasonably concerned with hygienic factors*) in terms of salary, working conditions, supervision, status, job security, school policies, and administration and social relationships.

Job Enrichment-Motivation in Practice

Motivation to work is a state characterized by a progression of events and feelings which *conceptually* begins with important and meaningful work; which leads to improved effort and performance; which leads to increased intrinsic satisfaction; which leads to increased identification with and commitment to one's job. This progression should be thought of as cyclical with identification and commitment resulting in an increased desire for important and meaningful work.[8]

[8] In practice the progression of events is much more complicated and less understood than portrayed in Figure 1. Indeed no fixed beginning and ending points probably exist in the strictest sense and which events lead to the next is more conjecture than fact, but these events seem to be the important ingredients in motivation to work. See, for example, the March and Simon and the Porter and Lawler models of satisfaction and performance: John March and Herbert Simon. *Organizations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. p. 49; Lyman Porter and Edward Lawler, III. *Managerial Attitudes and Performance*. Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1968. p. 17.

This cyclical progression is illustrated in Figure 1.

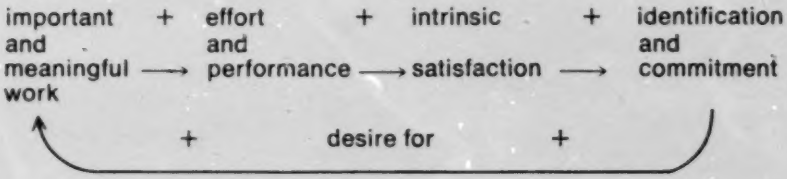

Figure 1. Job Enrichment and Motivation To Work

In human resources supervision intrinsic satisfaction is presumed to be the pivotal point of concern for most teachers but important and meaningful work becomes the pivotal point for supervisors as they work with teachers. Herzberg's motivation factors of achievement, recognition, responsibility, work itself, and personal growth are derived from success at important work.

No one supervisory strategy or leadership dimension contributes exclusively to evoking or enhancing motivation in teachers. Certainly the distribution of authority, the supervisor's leadership capabilities, the school's management climate, patterns of interaction, decision-making processes, and levels of trust and goodwill all contribute to enhancing or retarding teacher motivation. Other important influences of motivation are beyond the control of supervision. One prime contributor to motivation well within the supervisor's province as an individual knowledgeable about education and with responsibility for instruction is the *structure of the teacher's job*. Changing the teacher's job to improve opportunities for intrinsic satisfaction is called *job enrichment*. Job enrichment is accomplished when one *vertically loads* the job with more opportunities for successfully experiencing important and meaningful work.

- The purpose of job enrichment is to increase the amount of intrinsic satisfaction one attains from a job.

- Vertical loading is an enrichment strategy which builds into the job increased opportunities for experiencing achievement, recognition, advancement, opportunities for growth, and increased competence.

• Job enrichment in education means the deliberate upgrading of responsibility, scope, importance, and challenge in the work of teachers.

Job Enrichment for Teachers

The development of specific job enrichment strategies for teachers is a situational matter best accomplished by supervisors and teachers on the job. The possibilities and opportunities will differ school by school. Regardless of what individual strategies are developed, they should represent attempts to load more opportunities for achievement, recognition, growth, variety, interest, and responsibility into the teaching job. Some components of the teaching job where job enrichment strategies are applicable include:

teaching methods
curriculum sequence, scope, and content
scheduling of students
scheduling of instructional modules and class periods
goals and objectives
teacher and student roles and relationships
evaluation
planning
new practices
selection and purchasing of materials
self development.

Let us take curriculum sequence, scope, and content for example. Is the curriculum organized in a fashion which encourages teachers to teach in a mindless way with little regard for the value of material they cover or little regard for what they are trying to accomplish? Are teachers largely direction givers implementing a heavily prescribed curriculum and therefore making few decisions of their own? Situations such as this are badly in need of enrichment. The following questions, though not inclusive, might help decide the extent to which one's education program is in need of enrichment:

1. Are teachers deciding what will be taught, when, and how?
2. Is the curriculum confining to teachers or does it free them to be innovative and creative?

3. Do teachers know what they are trying to accomplish and why?

4. Are schedules established and youngsters grouped by teachers for educational reasons?

5. Are teachers free to deviate from schedules for good educational reasons?

6. Is curriculum standardization avoided for teachers and for students?

7. Are the teachers more accountable for achieving agreed-upon goals and objectives than for teaching the curriculum or operating their classrooms in a given way?

8. Do teachers have some budget control and responsibility for their areas?

9. Can teachers team together if they wish?

10. Are teachers free to choose their own curriculum materials within budget constraints?

Patterns of Classroom Influence and Job Enrichment

One way in which a classroom can be described is on the basis of student influence and teacher influence. That is, to what extent do students and do teachers influence and contribute to classroom goals and objectives, curriculum decision making, and instructional activities? Great variability exists in the amount of influence which teachers and students exercise as one views classrooms. In some classrooms the teacher is very influential when it comes to deciding goals and objectives, what will be studied, how and when. Such teachers may very well have the students' interests at heart and indeed demonstrate this by flexible and creative teaching but it is understood that students will have little to say about such decisions. In other classrooms, teachers function in a mindless way as they implement a curriculum with which they have little identity and often do not understand. Here neither teacher nor student assumes responsibility for goal selection and curriculum decision making. In a few classrooms, teachers and students exercise major influence as they participate together in goal and objective development and in curriculum decision making. In an occasional classroom one may find that the teacher exercises virtually no influence, having abdi-

cated the responsibility for goal selection and curriculum decision making entirely to students.

Ownership and influence are factors in increasing the importance and meaning of work and in determining one's disposition toward his or her job.[9] The extent to which teachers (and indeed students) influence classroom practice is an important factor in determining the opportunities they have for experiencing important and meaningful work.

The relationship between patterns of classroom influence and job enrichment are shown in grid form in Figure 2. The abscissa represents the extent to which teachers are able to influence classroom practice. The ordinate represents the extent to which students are able to influence classroom practice.

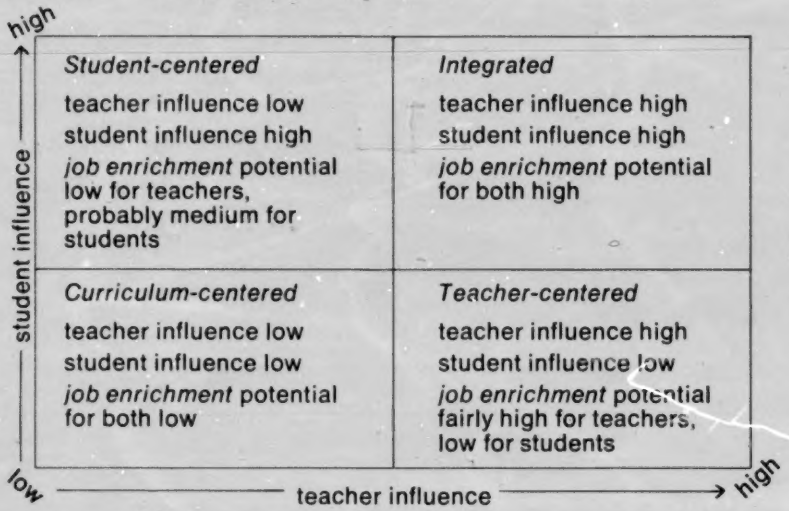

Figure 2. Classroom Influence and Job Enrichment

The teacher-centered quadrant is characterized by fairly high teacher influence but low student influence. Here teacher contributions to class activity are reasonably strong but limited. The choice of materials, methods, and approaches, within approved limitations,

[9] See, for example: Richard de Charms. *Personal Causation*. New York: Academic Press, 1959; Melvin Seeman. "On the Meaning of Alienation." *American Sociological Review* 24 (6): 783-91; 1959.

is largely up to the teacher, not textbook writers, curriculum developers, or supervisors. The teacher is free to adjust materials and methods according to perceptions of student needs providing that certain specified content areas or units of subject matter are covered. Nevertheless, the teacher is largely in command and makes important decisions about objectives, timing, schedules, materials, scope, and other instructional activities.

Teachers need to engage in selling, persuading, convincing, appealing, and other human relations skills in order to get serious commitment from students. Sometimes this is too difficult or time consuming and the teacher falls back on horse trading: "When you are finished with the assignment, you may take a game from the shelf and play quietly at your desk" or "Tomorrow we will have a test and this assignment will help you pass." Job enrichment opportunities in teacher-centered classes are fairly high for teachers but fairly low for students.

The student-centered quadrant describes classrooms where the teacher rarely, if at all, exercises leadership. Responsibility for learning is abdicated completely to students. Classrooms such as these are usually part of educational experiments and are only rarely found in numbers in the public schools. Some consider schools and classrooms associated with this quadrant to offer an attractive approach to education but this approach is limited by the passive role assigned to the teacher. Generally, job enrichment opportunities for teachers are low in this setting and though higher for students, are not fully realized. An exception might be where youngsters are extremely independent in their work habits.

The least satisfactory approach to schooling is represented by the curriculum-centered quadrant and is characterized by low teacher *and* low student influence. This quadrant represents a nonleadership approach which characterizes a large percentage of our schools. Here the controlling force is the textbook, the highly structured and sequenced curriculum, and other materials which for the most part determine class and school goals and objectives, decide pacing, sequencing, and scope of instruction, and so on. Teachers and students need only follow directions. Supervisors, on the other hand, see to it that directions are followed.

In classrooms of this type teacher and students have abdicated

all rights and responsibilities to impersonal experts as manifested in textbooks, overly structured curriculum, and other devices which rigidly program how teachers and students are to behave, and the nature of activities in which they will be engaged. Teachers who operate deep into this quadrant have deserted the class in terms of providing leadership and have become mere followers and givers of directions.

The question is not simply one of texts, materials, and curriculum but one of control. Do teachers use texts, materials, and curriculum guides as means to achieve individual and school goals or are these ends in themselves? This is not an academic question but one of the survival of teaching as a profession as opposed to being merely an occupation. We will always have teachers, but the number of professionals in teaching may decrease as more and more classrooms drift into this quadrant. In some respects this quadrant simplifies or makes easy the "job of teaching" but makes more difficult the job of keeping control of students. The typical student response is likely to be largely indifference, apathy; protest, and slowdown with teachers soon responding similarly. True, some teachers, because of limited potential in commitment or competence, may prefer curriculum-centered classrooms, but most would prefer a more enriched environment.

In the integrated approach, teachers and students assume major responsibility for planning, organizing, and controlling the learning environment, with supervisors providing leadership which supports this effort. Since teacher and student involvement in setting goals and in planning work is high, identification and commitment to work are more assured. These in turn are likely to result in high performance by teachers and students. This is the setting which makes most accessible the motivation factors of achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility, and personal growth for both teachers and students.

Some Mistakes in Implementing Human Resources Supervision

An assumption basic to human resources development supervision is that most teachers are interested in obtaining intrinsic satisfaction from their jobs and will work harder to get this satisfac-

tion under the right conditions. Helping teachers to accept responsibility for their job roles, targets, and behavior is an important job enrichment strategy in human resources supervision.

Delegating responsibility is not as simple a supervisory prescription as it seems. Many who have tried this approach can quickly recount instances when it does not work. Delegating without providing support is probably the most serious error in using responsibility as a motivator. Giving teachers the responsibility for developing their own methods or approaches to individualizing instruction without providing the necessary support or help to successfully assume this responsibility is an example.

The establishment of targets or goals and objectives is another key aspect of human resources supervision. Without some sort of agreement, some notion of direction, some idea of what is to be accomplished and why it is of value, achievement, recognition, responsibility, work itself, and personal growth remain abstractions. The motivation factors are derived from the accomplishment of work and work needs some definition and rationale in order for it to be fully understood. But target setting, supervision by objectives, and similar programs which are established to facilitate this goal focus can cause more problems than they solve if implemented dogmatically and indiscriminately.

A common problem with such approaches is that they are often too elaborate, detailed, uniform, objective, and standardized in design and implementation. When this is the case, they can actually rob the teacher of discretion and relegate him or her to a position similar to that described in the curriculum-centered quadrant of Figure 2. Further, such programs have a tendency to become routinized and flat for teachers, to become paper bound and overwhelming in the time required for proper maintenance—all of which can distract from creative and varied work for teachers. The teaching job then becomes less enriched.

Part of the problem stems from such programs' being too willing to trade accuracy for precision. Accuracy refers to the importance or value of an educational activity or goal. Precision refers to the scientific rigor with which the activity or goal can be pursued and measured. These dimensions are illustrated in Figure 3.

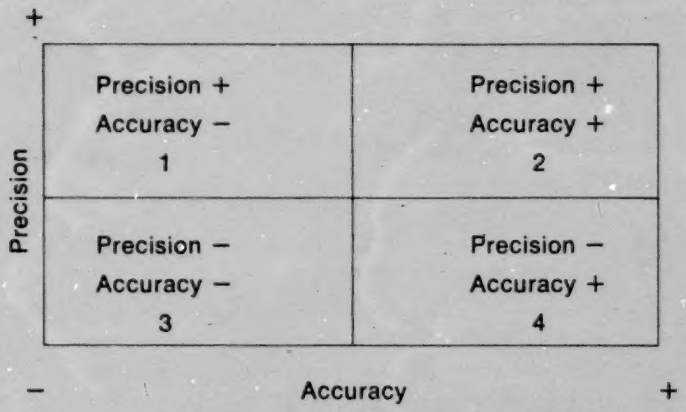

Figure 3. Dimensions of Accuracy and Precision

Situations two and four, characterized by high accuracy and high precision or high accuracy and low precision are the only defensible positions for teachers and supervisors. Schools should always be involved in the pursuit of important and valuable goals with whatever tools are available. Sometimes our tools will be rigorous and precise but at other times they will be ambiguous and ill-defined. We err seriously when we find ourselves in situations which are characterized by precise methods and measurements but with learning goals of dubious value. This is the plight of the drunk who searches under the lamp post for a key he lost in the dark a block away.

Helping teachers to set targets and providing them with opportunities to accept responsibility for their own behavior are not job enrichment prescriptions to be implemented in the absence of a system of support and help for the teachers. Indeed, any target setting plan that is not backed up by a supervisory support system designed to help reach targets is irresponsible. The work of supervisors does not end with providing opportunities for teachers to experience the motivation factors. Supervisors need to "make book" on these opportunities by helping teachers to be successful.

In summary, this chapter has discussed a number of important dimensions of human resources supervision including assumptions

which underlie the approach, concepts of motivation and job enrichment, target setting, and the development of helpful systems.

Motivation in teachers depends upon a complex set of factors and conditions, many of which are well beyond the control of the school and the supervisor. One's set of values and work norms, for example, affects one's orientation toward his or her job. Some teachers will never be properly motivated to work and others will usually be motivated to work regardless of what supervisors do. Indeed a good rule of thumb is, if you want motivated teachers, hire motivated people if you can. Wisdom aside, we still face the problem of increasing the identity, commitment, and performance of large numbers of teachers already tenured on the job. The majority of teachers desire and seek satisfying work and will respond to human resources supervision. But many will not and alternate supervisory methods and procedures that suit these teachers will need to be provided. Human resources supervision is not an elixir to be administered indiscriminately to all. But it is a powerful conception of supervision which by using the concepts of motivation and job enrichment can markedly improve the identity, commitment, and performance of most teachers and the effectiveness of schools.

In the following chapters, three critical concerns of supervision are examined in relation to human resources ideas. The concerns are staff development, classroom supervision, and accountability-evaluation.

Rubin strongly establishes the importance of staff development and places the responsibility for this function squarely in the hands of supervisors. According to Rubin, staff development is not a routine administrative practice but an integral part of the day by day supervisory process. Three assumptions he makes that are consistent with human resources supervision are: teachers want to improve themselves professionally; teachers should have considerable responsibility for and autonomy in deciding the nature of this improvement; and staff development activities should vary from teacher to teacher depending upon their predispositions, capabilities, and needs.

Manolakes shares also the assumption that, given a healthy climate, teachers will willingly seek and accept help in increasing

their professional capabilities. He proposes the advisory system as an image of supervision capable of providing face-to-face support that teachers need and desire as they seek self-improvement and increased satisfaction at work.

House recognizes the need for evaluation in his chapter on accountability but proposes that the teacher needs to function as a relatively autonomous person who plays a key role in deciding what will be the nature of this evaluation. He argues that evaluation practices based on neo-scientific management lack potential for providing teachers with intrinsic satisfaction at work and result in decreased benefits for youngsters. In his view evaluation is not something the system does to the teacher but rather something done with the teacher and others to the system.

The Case for Staff Development

Louis J. Rubin

The demand for a radical reform of schools has increased considerably in the recent past. The slings and arrows of outraged parents, alienated pupils, and overburdened taxpayers are aimed—justly or unjustly—at the educational system's presumed soft spots: the repressiveness of school control, our failure to meet the diverse expectations of different subcultures, the imprecision of instruction, the soaring costs, and the lack of connection with the world outside. Yet there is no consensus as to the proper cure for these ills.

Teachers, for example, who are at the heart of the action, have through arrogance, or fear, or lethargy, or plain disbelief, either disregarded the criticism, or have been exquisitely overactive to it. If, as has been argued, the quality of the educational process hangs on the intellectual and emotional encounters which occur between children and their teachers, surely it is reasonable to argue that the only effective locus of change resides in the teacher. Architects and carpenters influence building costs, law associations oversee lawyers, and medical associations impose sanctions on physicians; perhaps it is the teachers then who should govern teaching. The competitiveness of the marketplace alone is often sufficient incentive for other professionals to avoid consumer dissatisfaction: the client can seek out a particular doctor or avoid an unsatisfactory lawyer. But the teacher's client, the child, cannot, if pleased, keep the same teacher, or, if dissatisfied, go elsewhere.

In large measure, teachers are masters of their own destiny. Once they have entered professional life there are no formal sanctions if they fail to become better practitioners. Thus, if the impulse to improve does not come from within, teachers may well continue to be endlessly encapsulated in defective skills, closed minds, and scant knowledge of children and subject.

A teacher prepares to teach by spending four or five years at a training institution. There, in the existing order of things, he or she learns a sampling of all accumulated information, something about the theory of education, and a few prescriptions regarding the art and science of teaching. Even if this preparation were adequate, and it clearly is not, the training can become outdated in a very short time. Indeed, the moment teachers leave the training institution they embark upon a rapid journey to obsolescence. The eye of research may soon detect cracks in the foundation of old theory, lighten what were once dark voids, and illuminate new educational requirements. The social sciences are only now beginning to probe deeply into the dimensions of human interaction. And we have recently come to realize, with incredible lateness, that schools can teach children to be failures as well as successes. Beyond affective considerations, the continuous modernization of substantive knowledge is an accepted fact. It has often been noted, and with good reason, that the teacher who has not studied, say biology, during the last five years no longer knows the subject. The odds are therefore good that such a teacher will fill students with misconceptions. Preservice training alone, then, cannot produce great teaching.

While the prevailing criticism of preservice training may be unduly harsh, the critics argue that although it has provided a reasonable general education, it has not developed any real technical skill. More, it has failed to acquaint prospective teachers with the special nature of different subcultures; its objectives have sometimes been vague and nebulous; and it has relied almost completely upon the student teaching experience for the acquisition of craftsmanship. If this experience were powerful and comprehensive, giving the prospective teacher a thorough introduction to the art, preservice education might have overcome its other shortcomings. However, since the time duration is short, the organization unsystematic, and the exposure haphazard, the internship period has

its limitations. For example, student teaching benefits can be no better than the skill, wisdom, and commitment of the "master" teacher to whom the student is assigned.

The teaching experience may also be subservient to the particular interests and philosophy of a single school. Furthermore, the student teacher may happen into an authentic opportunity to learn and practice, or when fate is less kind, the apprentice may be used as unpaid labor to perform menial housekeeping chores. Interns must of necessity—if they are to earn good ratings—emulate both the good and bad points of the supervising teacher who is their assigned model. And, since they almost always enter practice teaching in the middle of the term, there is an inevitable artificiality. And, since the practice teaching period is customarily brief, it rarely allows sufficient time for authentic mastery. All in all, such training begets teachers who have little choice but to learn at the expense of their first students.

Staff Development Is Vital

The need for professional growth activities which enhance the quality of teaching is hardly unknown. In-service education has been a standard educational trapping for most of the 20th century. Still, its conventional acceptance is a bit misleading; the awareness of a problem and the token treatment of its symptoms is far from legitimate and diagnosis is an even longer step from therapy. Humans everywhere, not merely in cigarette advertisements, would rather fight for their habits than switch. The stresses and tensions of our time, moreover, tend increasingly to seduce us into the sweeping of our professional dust under the rug. Even, however, where there has been a stringent effort to meet the problem, the programs have suffered from a lack of energy, precision, direction, and imagination.

Relegated to a position of minor importance, staff development has been managed with such casualness that only rarely can one find authentic concern matched with a hardheaded assessment of results. Thus it has been astonishingly easy for clumsy and inept programs to survive. To install effective programs of professional growth would have required considerable understanding of the ways in which new skills and knowledge are best acquired by teachers, as

well as considerable sophistication regarding the psychological mechanisms through which people change their attitudes and values. These insights, alas, neither were known nor sought. During a period of frenzied experimentation, the hazards of such a course were survivable. We have now reached the point, however, where our ancient infirmities may do us in, for it has now become clear, first, that better—and perhaps different—schooling is an indispensable element in sustaining the society, and, second, that better schooling will necessitate continuous readjustment in the time to come.

Since the teacher is, for all practical purposes, the conveyor of the curriculum, the need to elevate the state of the practitioner's personal art is great. Everything we do in constructing an educational system comes to its moment of truth when the teacher begins to teach. The dollars spent for buildings and books; for research and development; for preparing teachers and administrators; for paper, pencils, gymnasiums, buses, custodians, and computers, all these and more, are ultimately invested in the teacher responsible for the intellectual and emotional destiny of 30 to 40 human beings. There is, nonetheless, a vast difference between the best and the worst of the teaching that goes on. Worse, following Gresham's Law, the bad can easily offset the effects of the good.

Working with a gifted teacher, ghetto children stigmatized as uneducable may grow not only on the achievement scales of the system but on other, more humanistic criteria as well. In a few short years, however, other teachers, untutored, unloving, and uncaring may destroy the gains which have been made. If we were unable to distinguish between good and bad teaching, or if we did not understand at least some of the elements which make one teacher effective and another ineffective, our present attitude toward professional growth would be understandable. It is because we do have the power to improve teaching performance that our failure of effort has been so tragic.

Presently, much of in-service education tends to surfeit teachers with ideas which they already have grasped, or to expound technical theories and intellectual conceptions for which they are not ready and which, indeed, they may not even find useful. A large part of professional growth must, of necessity, be straight-

forward training, and to this extent in-service activities should conjoin specific ends with specific means. To congregate several hundred teachers in an auditorium and expose them to a lecture on inductive teaching, to use a random example, is self-defeating. More sensibly, we ought first to determine: which teachers will have occasion to teach heuristically; how much each already knows about the available techniques; the level of proficiency each has already acquired; and ultimately design a sequence of growth activities expressly fitted to the individual teacher's needs. Unhappily this is seldom done. Staff development is organized for a mythical "average teacher," presumably under the assumption that all participating teachers are precisely alike, and the relevance of the activity thus becomes a matter of chance.

A majority of in-service training programs also are either so prescriptive that they insult the teacher's intelligence or so vague that they constitute an exercise in futility. Practitioners often contend that they deal with lofty conceptions but overlook the need to translate these conceptions into the hard-core skills of teaching. Since the programs are invariably carried on away from children, practical application is difficult. They frequently engulf themselves in the theoretical fads of the moment, giving little attention to the basic problems which confront the teacher in the classroom.

More often than not, the programs disregard the logical connections which ought to make preservice and in-service training a continuum of professional growth. Despite the great importance of personal incentive, scant attention is given to the crucial task of extending teachers' desires to perform at the highest levels of efficiency. As a consequence, some teachers are almost never uncomfortable over poor workmanship. The typical program makes little allowance for individuality, assuming—to reiterate an earlier point—that teachers are all of a kind, infected with exactly the same problems, and responsive to the same learning experiences. Judging from present in-service practice, in fact, one would assume that in some mystical way, all teachers are totally homogeneous, mirror images, with respect to background, belief, knowledge, technical finesse, personality, and teaching style.

Finally, the workshops and conferences, for the most part, are sporadic and disorganized. A lecture here, a meeting there, are sad

substitutes for a systematic program of activity aimed at the mastery of a specific skill. For teachers and administrators alike, then, in-service education can be a vexation: teachers endure meetings which are trivial, impotent, or both, and administrators search vainly for programs that will make an authentic difference in the quality of teaching that goes on.

Recently, our knowledge of the intricacies of teacher growth has deepened considerably. Were we to make intelligent use of this knowledge, we might develop a far superior system of in-service education. We could better coordinate theoretical principles and technical skills so that one reinforced the other. Rather than depend upon a principal or a supervisor (neither of whom has adequate time) for technical consultation and assistance, we could exploit the capacity of teachers to help one another. There is no real reason why the weakest teacher on a faculty cannot learn from the strongest. When colleagueship of this sort occurs, not only are there substantial gains in the quality of teaching performance, but it also becomes possible for teachers to enlarge their competence *while they work*.

Moreover, there is good reason to believe that teachers are best made *after* they are in service rather than before. Just as the golfer must learn putting on the green and the cook must master a sauce at the stove, teachers learn to teach when they are with children. However good the apprenticeship, there is a vast difference between internship and professional life. Once they enter in service, teachers will not only be assigned to different grades and subjects but their work setting will also vary enormously from community to community and school to school. The nature of the particular student, the expectations of his or her parents, the ideology of the educational system, the work customs of the faculty, and the physical character of the school building itself all exert a profound influence on the teacher's function. It is not surprising, therefore, that these same factors have an equally profound effect on the competencies required by a teacher, as well as on the procedures for developing these competencies.

Despite the great variation in the technical skills required by teachers they are uniformly prepared by their training institutions to serve in a conventional school. Even the experienced teacher, when

transferring from one school to another, often finds it necessary to make substantial realignments in teaching style. If we could rearrange teacher training programs so that teachers in training spent more time with live children and less with print inked on textbook pages, schooling would improve markedly. Until the degree of direct experience is increased, the lessons learned in the real world will continue to be far more consequential than those learned, before the fact, in colleges and universities.

Teacher Renewal and New Pedagogical Skills

Since the effort to discover better methods of education will be sustained during the foreseeable future, the need for teacher renewal and for the acquisition of new pedagogical skills will be endless. We might rely upon an orderly evolution through which each generation of teachers, through a gradual erosion of custom, becomes more accomplished than the last. But in the 35 or so years of a teacher's professional life a vast number of children's lives are influenced. Hence, to wait until inferior practices die a natural death, is to cheat thousands of young people out of what they might otherwise have had.

Teachers are human; thus they reflect the full range of human personality. Some are authoritarian while others are permissive; some are self-actualizing and some self-defeating; many live relatively stable lives and many are trapped in circumstances that beget constant anxiety. In view of these differences, it is little short of folly to presume that the same professional development experiences are appropriate for every teacher. Moreover, not only are teachers inherently different but they also change differently: much as in the case of the students they teach, there are slow and fast learners, inductive and deductive thinkers, and predispositions toward structured and unstructured learning conditions. In short, the need to individualize learning is no less important with teachers than with children.

The inexorableness of societal change endlessly creates new educational priorities. A decade or two ago the schools began to stress heuristic learning and to explore the potential for personalizing instruction. A little later they launched courses on black culture,

drug addiction, and value clarification to focus students' attention on the social problems which were hallmarks of the time. Similarly, the invention of new technological apparati gave rise to a fresh interest in multimedia instruction. As these changes occurred, teachers readjusted themselves disparately: some moving from old to new patterns more rapidly and/or more easily than others. Teachers, in sum, are no exception to an ancient sociological caveat: the more rapid the change the greater the variation in human adjustment.

It is perhaps pretentious to speak of an artist teacher. Few practitioners in any endeavor ever attain genuine artistry. To assume that gifted pedagogues can be made out of all those who work with children in classrooms would be undue optimism. But even if complete success is unattainable, much good could come from reaching toward the goal. Every teacher may not become an artist, but each can certainly grow more adept.

The problem we confront is of several parts. We must define the attributes of good in-service education, plan the mechanics for its execution, and devise strategies through which the same operational principles can be deployed toward various purposes. An effective training experience, one respecting the laws of behavioral change, can be used for a variety of ends. The same principles of human change, for example, can be used either to increase or decrease a teacher's reliance upon the textbook. Our time knows only too well, moreover, that to manipulate without due regard for deleterious side effects can be destructive. In matters of human growth, means and ends are inseparable. Humanism and behaviorism have their own time, place, and special virtues. The trick is to use them in a fitting way, at a fitting time.

An effective system of in-service education is one that permits teachers to grow in their own way and at their own pace. It respects the fact that whereas doctrinaire training serves to reduce the individual's options, growth serves to increase them. While it ought not deprive the teacher of the internal tensions which come from autonomous self-direction, it should be sufficiently pointed to ensure that aimless floundering does not result from scant structure. It must neither seek to change behavior without simultaneously changing the heart nor to unfetter the imagination without at the same time

offering procedures by which creativity can be made practical. It must instill a taste for mastery and a distaste for ineptness. And, importantly, an effective system must respect the exigencies of reality. It cannot be so costly as to be prohibitive; it cannot ignore the policy constraints imposed upon administrators; it cannot add unduly to the teacher's already heavy burden; it cannot be so nebulous as to lack utility nor so prescriptive as to destroy individuality; and, perhaps above all, it must not violate the teacher's natural bent.

A Professional Growth Model

The professional growth model I have in mind involves three major components: attitudes, pedagogical skills, and substantive knowledge. It is these elements which together comprise the critical dimensions of in-service education. Because they usually are treated in disjunction from one another, or because one is emphasized to the exclusion of the others, most conventional programs lack efficacy. After five years of experimental effort, in some eighty schools scattered across the nation, I have been persuaded that the improvement of teaching can seldom be accomplished through a quick fit. The acquisition of a new device or the introduction of an adroit maneuver sometimes brings impressive results in a particular facet of the work. But, superior craftsmanship in the overall spectrum of teaching can only be achieved over time, and only through painstaking and systematic effort. If we seek a total teacher rather than a specialist who can perform one limited function or another, attitudes, skills, and knowledge constitute the indispensable trinity. In order to integrate affective and cognitive learning, for example, a teacher must have an attitude of mind which sponsors the inclination to value such integration, sufficient theoretical knowledge to understand how the integration can occur, and the technical skills with which to execute the integration.

When a teacher is at work, whatever he or she does is inspired by the underlying attitudes toward self, student, subject, and the world at large. Attitudes—the predisposition to behave in particular ways—are thus central to the entire teaching act: a skill will go unused if the holder does not perceive it as worthwhile. Teachers,

like other humans, operate within their own belief systems. The teacher with ultra-conservative political beliefs is not likely to be knowledgeable, much less tolerant, of the social concerns of radical youth. The teacher who perceives his or her role to be that of helping children develop healthy self-concepts will acquire a different set of habits and skills than the one who regards his or her primary task as that of dispensing factual information. A teacher, unfamiliar with the cultural rituals of ghetto life, may act out attitudes which have been nurtured by longstanding misconceptions. In turn, such attitudes may mitigate against any desire to master skills which are crucial to working with deprived children.

What is needed, then, is an organizational scheme that will provide for continuous and comprehensive teacher growth. By this I do not mean to imply that good teaching necessarily must follow a recipe or that a given training activity will under all conditions represent the best method of extending mastery. Great teachers achieve their greatness in different ways. Some are warm, compassionate human beings able to reach deeply into their students' emotional lives. Others, superb actors, use improvisation and drama to achieve their ends. Still others are charismatic and persuasive, capable of literally selling their intellectual wares to their students.

Artistry comes in varied shapes, as well as from diverse talents, and the task of retraining is not to remake the teacher according to a predetermined mold, but rather to capitalize upon the natural attributes which exist. Just as the physician must qualify the use of a drug, even, within the range of standard practice, use a drug in ways that are appropriate for a particular individual, so must we make allowances for exceptions to standard practice in teaching. Human individuality proscribes a universal prescription for teaching. We can, of course, formalize instructional technique and thus avoid the dangers of misused autonomy, but in so doing we also nullify the miracle of human variation and decimate natural style.

If we are to help teachers deepen perceptions of child and subject, increase their sensitivity to the nuances of the classroom, and sharpen their sense of role and purpose, we must design, test, and install improvement activities that have been organized according to some sort of system. Such a system must satisfy a number of minimal conditions. To give teachers a repertory of generally

useful skills it must focus on specific teaching tasks and on the classroom situations in which they habitually occur. It must utilize developmental exercises aimed at a particular goal: it must offer cumulative practice in developing technical skill; it must familiarize teachers with devices that can be used to diagnose student learning needs, and, at the same time, enable them to recognize when an instructional technique is best used in the classroom.

Teaching is a complex business. Artist practitioners engage in a multiplicity of tactics. They question and respond, synthesize and augment, explain and interpret, stimulate and control. They use one collection of techniques to introduce a lesson and another to terminate it. They select learning objectives, pursue them through a sequence of operations, and assess their results. It follows, therefore, that a system of professional development must lend itself to an equally broad range of skills. To be efficient, however, it must separate these skills and deal with a piece at a time before the various techniques are incorporated into a performance gestalt.

If, illustratively, we wished to train a master chef, we might begin with the preparation of soups, turn next to salads, and then work with one meat dish after another. We would also, in the process, teach the apprentice a number of basic competencies: parboiling, sautéing, coddling, and so on. Later, we probably would wish to help him or her master a number of basic sauces each of which could be used in a limitless variety of dishes. So it is with teaching. The skills of the craft must be acquired independently and the training system must, therefore, consist of specific training units which accomplish specific purposes. Once integrated, these capabilities enable teachers to become adept at the standard pedagogical operations: diagnosing learning difficulties, individualizing assignments, reinforcing basic concepts, and so on. To be efficacious, the training units will need to be constructed in accordance with the classroom practices, refined through trial and error, and tested in practical contexts.

Some critics have contended that planned growth of this sort is manipulative and an impediment to individuality. The viewpoint is hard to understand for training need not be antagonistic to creativity or artistry. The skillful chef, to use an earlier example, is neither weakened by practice nor hampered by functional prin-

ciples. In point of fact, the mastery of technical skills increases rather than decreases the practitioners' flexibility. In short, the ability to accomplish a purpose in one way does not preclude the use of alternative ways.

Factors in Good Teaching

My own research, pursued over the course of several years, suggests that there are four critical factors in good teaching performance, each of which can be improved through planned interventions:

The teacher's sense of purpose
The teacher's perception of children
The teacher's knowledge of subject
The teacher's mastery of technique.

Role perspective and teaching values are of great significance because, more than anything else, they determine how the teacher will function in the classroom. Consider the following lesson assignments, and their corresponding teacher rationales, taken randomly from schools around the country:

Assignment: Memorize the capitals of the 50 states.
Reason: *The information is useful and memorizing is good self-discipline.*

Assignment: Learn to spell correctly 100 basic vocabulary words.
Reason: *Our principal believes that correct spelling is symbolic of an educated person.*

Assignment: Become a good kickball player.
Reason: *Physical games are healthful and develop a competitive spirit.*

Assignment: Write a composition telling about the problems in life that worry you.
Reason: *Children must learn to understand and cope with their anxieties.*

Assignment: Read five newspaper articles about drug addiction.
Reason: *Parents want their children informed about current social problems.*

Assignment: Study the textbook chapters on Greek civilization.
Reason: *The course outline states that knowing history enables students to be cultured.*

These six examples typify the extraordinary variation in teachers' opinions regarding the purpose of schooling. If, for example, the teacher considers his or her mission to be that of imparting information, there likely will be a great deal of lecturing and teacher-talk. If, on the other hand, the role is perceived as that of stimulating imagination or helping pupils to learn for themselves, there normally is more emphasis on problem defining and problem solving. Innovators, alas, have too seldom recognized that a good many educational programs of undeniable quality have gone afoul simply because they required an attitude toward teaching that was incongruent with the teacher's sense of purpose. Hence, a powerful system of teacher professional growth must, at the outset, reckon with the individual's personal conception of teaching. Like all other workers, teachers have biases and predispositions which often can constrain their effectiveness. They come to teaching as adults, having amassed a considerable amount of human experience. Assimilated in their particular attitudinal structures, this experience, whether good or bad, healthful or unhealthful, is perforce actualized in their teaching. Thus, where a teacher's values and beliefs diminish performance, professional growth is primarily a matter of altering entrenched convictions, if this is possible.

The second critical factor in good teaching performance is the teacher's perception of children. Classroom learning also suffers when the teacher's perception of the child is faulty. Children not only vary in their capacities, their learning modes, and their personalities, but their psychological needs too are often dissimilar. The usefulness of an encounter between teacher and child invariably hangs on the degree of correctness with which one "reads" the other. A kind of cultural dissonance, for example, is common when a middle-class teacher works with a lower-class child: each tends to see the world somewhat differently. Such misperceptions, moreover, frequently go beyond differences in social values. Adulthood and childhood are different universes; and to win the empathy, trust, and affection of his or her student the teacher must re-enter the space of childhood or adolescence, while keeping one foot in his

or her own adult galaxy. To teach competently, but without feeling, is to set loose an alchemy that distills learning into drudgery. This, of course, is not to derogate intellectualism: the student must master science, mathematics, or history, but the process—even if it entails hard work—need not engender either suffering or boredom.

We cannot, of course, force love. Not even the Testament is so optimistic. But, if teachers cannot will themselves to love students, they can at least learn to act lovingly, to be kind, charitable, and understanding of their charges. Compassion and competence are by no means incompatible.

We found, in our experimental in-service programs, two basic sources of perceptual error: first, teachers frequently lack familiarity with the life styles of different subcultures; and, second, children and teachers often enter the classroom with conflicting beliefs about what is important and unimportant in life. There are black children in Miami who have yet to set foot on its beaches, Puerto Ricans in New York who will never walk on Park Avenue, and white teachers commuting to black schools in San Francisco who have almost no conception of the lifestyle inside a ghetto apartment. Unless teachers are aware of the society's divergent parts they can neither be truly responsive to their students nor accomplish the vital mission of inducing acceptance of cultural pluralism. The more worldly the teacher—worldly in the sense of informed social sophistication—the more probable the teaching will have vitality and excitement.

In this second major target of teacher professional growth is the problem of reducing inferential errors. As teachers teach, appropriate pedagogical "moves" must be inferred from student behavior. Judging the subtleties of the teaching-learning act, however, is a tricky matter. Teachers make inferential errors because of personal prejudice, because they respond to the wrong clues or misinterpret the right ones, or simply because they fail to recognize the clues as they become manifest. A child's silence, as a case in point, may not mean sullenness or indifference. A teacher may assume that the articulate child is learning and the inarticulate one is not. In truth, however, verbal facility is not an accurate index of learning.

To cite another illustration, children learn early in their school careers to camouflage their feelings. Even the dullest of lads soon

recognizes that it is both easy and essential to wear an attentive look, and that boredom can be alleviated by quiet excursions into fantasy as a dreary lesson pokes along. And teachers, it might be added, cooperate in the deception with astonishing gullibility: The problems of discipline being what they are, it is easy to be put off by an attentive countenance or an engrossed expression. The second component in the system has to do with sharpening the teacher's knowledge of his or her clients: judgmental errors can be reduced through practice in analysis; the capacity to infer correctly can be enlarged through exercise; attitudes regarding educational purpose can be modified through insight-bearing experiences; and social awareness can be enhanced by a deeper orientation to the child's personal out-of-school world.

The third critical element in a system of professional growth involves the teacher's knowledge of the intellectual concepts and processes to be taught. In the present way of things an elementary school teacher must, as a rule, teach from five to ten different subjects. Instruction is usually carried on in science, history, mathematics, music, English, government, health, and so on. Under such a load, it is scarcely possible for teachers to be well-grounded in all of their subject matter. Hopefully, we will soon begin to initiate staffing procedures and use technology which ease the teacher's burden. From the standpoint of professional competence, nonetheless, reducing the number of areas in which the teacher must be knowledgeable also reduces the required scope of staff development programs. Until there is a greater concentration, most teachers are destined to deal with at least some of their teaching material in rather superficial ways.

There is a considerable difference between the kind of teaching that goes on when teachers have an intimate acquaintance with the content of the lesson and when the acquaintance is only peripheral. When teachers are genuinely knowledgeable, when they know their subject well enough to discriminate between the seminal ideas and the secondary matter, when they can go beyond what is in the textbook, the quality of the pedagogy becomes extraordinarily impressive. For it is only when a teacher has a consummate grasp of, say, arithmetic, physics, or history that their meaning can be turned outward and brought to bear upon the learner's personal experience.

Relevancy lies less in the inherent nature of a subject than in its relationship to the child's frame of reference. In the hands of a skillful teacher, poetry can be taught with success and profit to ghetto children.

We have now begun to recognize, moreover, that how something is learned can be fully as important as what is learned. There are, in short, intellectual processes—processes of universal usefulness—through which one can learn the principle of supply and demand, the laws of gravity, or the consequences of social violence. Since these processes are valuable coin in their own right, they ought properly to be an integral part of instruction. But if the teacher's knowledge is scant, teaching the intellectual methods incorporated in a discipline becomes virtually impossible.

Finally, there is a need in a professional growth system for a component which provides for the systematic mastery of technique and the acquisition of classroom management skills. A child can be taught to spell in many ways, and while no one way always is best, some methods clearly are better than others. And, as we continue to learn more about the teaching of spelling, new procedures and materials become available. Thus a sustained effort to improve teaching skill is critical on two counts: first, there are no known limits to the degree of adeptness a practitioner can achieve; and second, as new devices are invented it continually becomes necessary for the teacher to exchange old practices for new.

To sum up matters, then, four elements—the teacher's conception of purpose, sensitivity to students, grasp of subject matter, and basic repertory of teaching skills—are the essence of an effective professional growth system.

A system of this sort, obviously, is not easily achieved. Aside from the restrictions of time and money, the organization probably must be developed in piecemeal fashion, a step at a time. Nonetheless, since teacher in-service education does go on, in one form or another, and since supervisors devote a considerable amount of their energies to the betterment of instruction, interested school districts can make massive strides toward an ultimate system by establishing long-range plans and fitting ongoing activities into the overall design.

Much of Sergiovanni's rationale, in the previous chapter, is directly applicable. Supervision will increasingly become a facilitating rather than a directing role, teachers' motivation and commitment will become correspondingly more important, and the desire to grow and improve will, in turn, depend to a considerable extent on the degree of satisfaction teachers derive from their efforts. All of which is to suggest that the future needs careful tending: the hypocracies of convention must be questioned; the seductiveness of convenience must be resisted; the practitioner's pride of craftsmanship and purpose must be restored; and, as in all of our other social institutions, the human capacity for regeneration must be summoned to new heights.

The Advisory System and Supervision

Theodore Manolakes

Possibly no other vehicle for improving instruction and the practice of teachers in the past decade has received more attention and effort than what has come to be known as the *advisory system*. The efforts to humanize and open up the schools that began in the late 60's have resulted in the appearance of a large number of professionals who do not view themselves as supervisors in the usual sense, but who are committed to aiding teachers to develop more effective educational programs for children. Some of these advisors are employees of school districts who have been relieved of teaching duties to carry on advisory functions, while others work in schools but are employed by private agencies or universities.

The development of groups of personnel available to help teachers has been accompanied by the establishment of many teacher centers which serve as support facilities for teachers. The combination of people who act in classrooms in an advisory capacity and supporting teacher centers can be viewed as the advisory system. Both forms of service focus on teachers and their needs as areas of work.

Support for Teacher Growth

The advisory system differs from old style supervision in one very important way. It is based on the notion that teachers are very much concerned about improving their teaching and that they will do so provided the existence of proper support conditions. In

addition, this view holds that teachers are professionals with talent and ability and that they do not require coercion or direction from an outside authority to achieve high quality results in their work. The advisory view places control of help to be received with the individual teacher and assumes that he or she will use, in a support system, those elements that are of most benefit at a given time.

A second major assumption from which the advisory system evolves is the view that the teacher is the core and heart of the instructional program. Where other orientations might hold that highly planned curriculum schemes, packages, instructional materials, or new organizational plans are the key to instructional quality, this position regards the teacher to be central and assumes that teachers who are growing personally and professionally, and who feel encouragement to try out ideas in their work, will evolve sound and productive educational programs. The advisory system, while using the classroom as a focus and vehicle, concerns itself with aiding the teacher to move in those directions which are appropriate personally and professionally.

The advisory system also takes a long view of time in the educational process. It assumes that real growth on the part of people is a generally slow evolution, and that direct efforts to bring about dramatic changes often result in a cosmetic effect. Advisors recognize that the process is continuous, but not even-paced in terms of when steps are taken. There are periods of high activity and periods of assimilation in which little apparent movement is taking place. Recognition of the time requirements in teacher development is a part of the total process.

The advisory system has appeared as a consequence of two related conditions in both the United States and Great Britain. It has usually evolved in those school settings where the intention is to reform school programs rather than to maintain them, and it has most often occurred in those areas where the nature of reform has been to create classroom programs that tend to be less formal and where teachers are encouraged to lessen reliance on standard textbooks and curriculums. In both the United States and Britain the growth of advisories has accompanied the development of open or informal education. This form of education places heavy responsibility on the teacher to create a productive learning environment

through use of a wide variety of resources, activities, and materials. It also requires modification of the use of time and space in a classroom, and changes in teacher style as increased amounts of interaction with children must take place in an individual or small group setting. Shifting the heart of the program from external structures to the teacher makes necessary the existence of some form of teacher support in carrying out this increased responsibility. Though the advisory system has its origins in informal education, as a conceptualization of supervision it can be readily adapted to other approaches.

Basic Advisory Functions

The advisory system has evolved rapidly and has taken many forms. At this point there is little standardization in advisory practice. Advisors vary in their relationships to schools and teachers and in expectancies placed on them by employers and teacher-clients. All of this means that a wide array of practices can be observed under the heading called advisement. In spite of this range of practices, there appear to be several basic functions common to the work of advisors. These may vary from advisor to advisor in emphasis, but must be considered as basic to advisory functioning.

1. *The advisor as seed planter and extender:* The discussion of advisory work up to this point might lead to the conclusion that advisors play a relatively passive role of being available to help teachers who make specific requests. Advisors do spend a considerable amount of their time working with teachers on specific tasks, but they also have an educational point of view and instructional goals which they seek to see implemented. The process they use in accomplishing their goals is to be helpful, but at the same time to deal in ideas and suggestions which the teacher may initially accept or reject. At its best the helping relationship which the advisor carries on also contains a dialogue between two professionals. They discuss intentions, identify problems, and weigh alternatives as part of an ongoing discussion. It is true that advisors might not see their ideas initially accepted or implemented, but this is part of the

seeding process. Time, interaction, and an evolving situation often lead to eventual acceptance and implementation.

The teacher who initially approaches the advisor for help with organizing interest centers in a fourth grade might have only the physical reorganization as an initial goal and may not have thought of the implications of this step in terms of program, use of time, and other factors. The teacher may only want to use interest centers as attractive supplements to the regular program after children have finished assigned work in texts and workbooks. The advisor will probably help the teacher organize these centers under the conditions specified, but during the process of helping will plant seeds through pointing out or demonstrating the value of center activities in substituting for some of the required textbook work, and of suggesting ways that time might be used more effectively. There is no guarantee that the teacher will accept these ideas initially or ever, but the possibility is increased as the relationship continues, and the teacher begins to see the potential of the centers which now exist.

It may well be that stimulating and extending the thinking of teachers about ways of improving their work is at the heart of positive advisory functioning. Without mature goals on the part of advisors and a willingness to engage the teacher in thinking about next steps, the work of the advisor is one of blind technical engineering, and can be an aimless activity.

2. *The advisor as technical helper:* A major portion of the time that advisors spend with teachers is in the technical domain. They deal with questions about individualizing instruction in reading, keeping records in a decentralized classroom, stimulating creative writing on the part of children, or provisioning a science interest center with productive and worthwhile activities. Advisors deal with these concerns in a variety of ways. They often serve as a source of specific ideas and activities. They sometimes plan with teachers new activities or instructional units and then actually work alongside the teacher in the classroom to help implement these plans. Advisors also demonstrate techniques or activities with children and allow the teacher to observe and critique the episode or episodes. They sometimes offer teachers feedback through visits to classrooms followed by conferences. The emphasis is not to do for

the teacher, but to be a resource and aid. Always the intent of the advisor is to work toward the strengthening and growth of independence on the part of the teacher.

An important factor in the technical dimension is that of the competence and credibility of the advisor. If the advisor is to establish a relationship with teachers that is mutually productive, the advisor must be viewed as interested in helping and able to help. This does not mean that advisors should be able to do anything that teachers ask, but that they should make clear what they are able to help with, and be willing to help the teacher find other sources of support when the advisor cannot help. So the advisor, while personally helping in the classroom work of the teacher, may also be a broker who identifies and obtains additional resources.

3. *The advisor as a personal support person:* Advisors may vary in the technical help they bring to teachers and in the educational point of view they express, but implicit in the advisory relationship is that the advisor will be an interested and supportive person. In some classrooms, providing personal support may be the most important function advisors carry on with teachers. There may be limited need for advisory help in the seed planting and technical areas, but real need for a friendly ally with whom to talk, share problems, and receive positive encouragement. For many teachers, growth and development in professional practices carries with it risk. There is no assurance that efforts will succeed. The availability of an interested and concerned person, who is at least psychologically willing to share the risks with the teacher is an important ingredient in the growth process.

Advisors support teachers, from a psychological standpoint, in a variety of ways. Their mere presence indicates interest and concern. Their availability when needed is important, as are the areas they choose to discuss and what they actually say. It is not that the advisor succeeds so much by lavish praise, but through concerned action.

4. *The advisor as expediter:* Very often the work of the advisor involves helping the teacher in just getting the job done. Institutions have policies and procedures which are developed to allow for smooth operations, but they often do more. They can also act as

impediments to change and modifiers of existing instructional programs. The problems of obtaining materials which are not usually purchased by a school district can be a sizable roadblock. Rearranging time schedules, placing a rug in a classroom, hanging a mobile, using the corridor, or building shelves in the classroom can in many instances be contrary to established policies. Often what may appear to outsiders to be minor restrictions can act as a hindrance to teachers, and some will just give up rather than fight the "system."

Advisors, who encourage teachers to try new ideas, often find themselves in a position of having to assist the teacher in seeing these through. In the case of different materials it can mean knowing how to push a requisition through quickly so that there will not be the usual six months wait for arrival. It can also mean knowing where to borrow materials immediately for the teacher to test and use. It sometimes means interceding with a higher authority to obtain permission to bend a policy or two.

Advisors, who wish to encourage change and development, cannot avoid taking responsibility for seeing the job through when institutional difficulties arise. The pitfall for the advisor is to accomplish this without appearing to be bent on destroying the whole framework of rules and regulations which govern schools. This impression can lead to loss of credibility with the administrative staff.

5. *The advisor as informant and communication stimulator:* Teachers, often by the nature of their work, lead insulated professional lives, which makes it very difficult for them to be aware of practices different from their own that might be useful. They also have difficulty knowing about teachers who are attempting to achieve some of the same goals. A part of the functioning of an advisor is in helping teachers know what other colleagues might be doing, and of helping teachers establish communication networks. Advisors use a variety of techniques in accomplishing this function. They can spread good ideas and practices by visiting with teachers with whom they work about unique activities in other rooms they visit. They can sometimes assist teachers in obtaining released time to visit other classrooms. Advisors also make it possible for teachers to communicate about common concerns. Periodic after-school sessions for purposes of creating a social atmosphere in which

discussion and contact can begin, or meetings focused on a topic of concern to all who are invited can be useful. These can be in addition to workshops or retreats which advisors can sometimes initiate.

The role of informant and stimulator of communications is part of a process whereby the advisor attempts to broaden the number of resources and contacts available to the individual teacher, as well as to broaden individual professional horizons. To the extent that this is accomplished, the teacher's growth is influenced and dependence on the advisor is assumed to be lessened. An aim in advisement should be a changing relationship with individual teachers over time. As teachers succeed in their work and find colleagues who share interests, they continue to welcome the advisor as a friendly and concerned co-worker, but use this person in less dependent ways. They have developed a good deal of direction of their own and have other sources of input and support.

Conditions Affecting Advisory Functions

Advisors work in a variety of school settings. Much of what they accomplish depends on what they bring to their work in terms of background, energy, and personality characteristics, but in some cases high qualifications may not be enough for success. Sometimes advisors will have limited success in some situations because of conditions over which they have little control. The nature of advisement and the lack of positional clout or authority limit the advisor's potential for directly changing conditions. It is therefore important to recognize situational factors that are necessary for advisors to work effectively.

1. *Interested and supportive administrators:* Principals and other administrative personnel can have a large effect on the possibility for advisors successfully affecting teacher growth. A good deal of power to affect the professional lives of teachers resides in the administrative area. Principals can act to expedite and support the efforts of advisors or can very quietly nullify what they are doing through withdrawal of support. This can happen in situations where the advisor is an outsider who is sent to the school by higher

authority. Often the advisor is viewed as a threat, as one who is working on goals which the principal does not accept.

It may be that if the work of the advisor is to be successful, building level administrators will need to be involved in the selection of advisors and to be in agreement with work to be accomplished from the outset. Advisors need to work with and not around administrative personnel. It is often very easy for the advisor to see the principal as obstructing progress and to attempt to deal with teachers while ignoring the principal. This usually results in a reassigned advisor.

2. *An atmosphere which encourages teacher growth:* There are schools where the primary function of teachers is to implement the curriculum as laid down. Curriculum planning, in these situations, prescribes which textbooks are to be used in each curricular area, and there is a strong emphasis on seeing to it that books have been covered by the end of the year. In such schools education is equated with books finished. Though few schools are this prescriptive and restrictive in terms of what teachers might do in their own classrooms, there are factors in school climate that sometimes quite subtly restrict teachers from feeling that they can try new ideas and ways of teaching children.

Advisors can be most useful in situations where there is an interest in seeing the staff develop itself and where there is an openness to new and possibly different ideas. In situations where this sort of climate exists the need for an advisor is already apparent before he or she arrives and rather than having to establish a need for services the advisor is put to work by teachers immediately. This may appear to be an ideal situation and reality probably is somewhere between it and the highly prescriptive school, but there is no avoiding the fact that advisors are not magicians who can make over schools where potential for change does not exist. School districts considering getting on the advisory bandwagon might well examine conditions within the schools to determine if an appropriate climate for change exists before expending large amounts of money.

3. *Time provided for advisement:* Another factor which affects potential for success of advisors is the opportunity provided

for them to actually work with teachers in classrooms. This factor is strongly related to the ratio of advisors to teachers in a given situation. There is no definitive formula for establishing an effective advisory system. Experience and tradition of autonomy of teachers, the aims of advisement, and the nature of practices to be undertaken will all affect this decision. It should be apparent though that the decision will affect just what a single advisor can accomplish. If we seek a good deal of personal contact and availability to help teachers, then the number of teachers should be quite small, possibly not exceeding 25. If we seek more structured advisement and less frequency of contact, it might be larger. At some point, though, the expenditure of funds for advisors becomes a waste of money. When a district with 300 teachers employs one advisor, this will likely limit the advisor to communicating through periodic memoranda containing a few ideas, and some large group workshops. That sort of process does not seem to differ much from the traditional supervision which presently exists in many school systems, except that labels have been changed.

It should also be recognized in making decisions of this sort that all teachers within an advisor's assigned responsibility area will not make use of the advisor at the same time. New teachers and experienced teachers working on specific problems might make high use of advisors. Use will shift as problems are solved and relationships with other teachers are established. The number of teachers an advisor is assigned can be significantly larger than the number the advisor will be intensively dealing with at any one time. The major concern in this area is that advisors be able to deliver on the promise that their existence in a school district implies.

Teacher Centers and Advisories

Up to this point much of the discussion about advisory functioning has dealt with the work of individual advisors and their responsibilities in relationship to teachers. The emphasis given to the advisor grows out of a strong conviction that the focal point for supporting teacher development must be the classroom and that delivering support requires the efforts of individual professionals. Teacher centers have evolved over this recent period with many

of the same intentions of advisors who work in schools directly. They are similar in that they aim to support teacher growth and change. They provide a place where teachers can come to seek advice, materials, communicate with colleagues, and work on problems. Ideally a total advisory system has both elements present. It has personnel who are able to work directly with teachers and a facility where teachers can come for a variety of services. In many situations advisors work out of a teacher center, using its materials and other staff in their daily work, and serving as teacher center consultants in after-school sessions and on week ends. In some ways the teacher center can be viewed as a backup and support system for the advisor who can use its resources and direct them to teachers.

The situation with regard to teacher centers is very much like roles played by advisors. There is no clear map or blueprint at this time with regard to what teacher centers do. A teacher center can be many things. It can be an actual facility in a building or school or it can be the name of a group of people who wish to help teachers. It is most often a storage center for all sorts of instructional raw materials, as well as commercially prepared materials. It often has workshop space and equipment that teachers can use to construct materials of their own. It also might have rooms where teachers can meet. It can be a place with unstructured activities that teachers are free to visit and use, but more often it offers a combination of free use with some scheduled activities such as mini-courses and workshops. Often these activities are topic oriented and will focus on helping teachers learn a specific technique.

Some sessions are directed at cultural enrichment. Some teacher centers have established relationships with nearby universities and offer graduate credit to teachers participating in some of their activities. In essence teacher centers have a mission which involves teacher support. Within limitations of budget they attempt to deliver services which teachers find useful. Because participation and use of teacher centers is purely a voluntary act on the part of teachers, the survival and growth of the center requires that it attempt to meet practical felt needs of teachers. This characteristic is part of the promise and problem of teacher centers. There is no question that teachers for too long have lacked the services which

teacher centers can provide, but it is also true that these centers cannot possibly be all things to all teachers, and often they are perceived as falling short on the promise offered.

It is of interest to note the relationship between teacher centers and staff advisory services provided through advisors. By and large many groups which have started by providing advisory services to teachers have found that a facility was necessary to fully provide for teacher needs, and the converse has been true as well. Groups which have started by founding teacher centers have often discovered they must extend services through an advisory function in the schools. It appears that these two entities are very closely related and in fact do complement each other operationally.

Teacher centers have clearly evolved from the same group of educators who wished to transform the schools through advisement. Initially the idea and vision came largely from the example of British teacher centers working to support teachers who were undertaking informal and activity based programs. American teacher centers initially tended to offer teachers ways for introducing activities and concrete materials into classrooms. Stress was placed on helping teachers create manipulative materials for mathematics, a variety of craft activities, writing activities, and the like. With the passing of time the teacher center has evolved into a broader conception in this country. It has departed from a strictly activity centered orientation and has become more broadly concerned with educational and instructional improvements through assisting teachers. Though many activities and crafts are still found in such centers, those which are operated by school districts tend to reflect school district concerns and will include many standardized materials and often reflect a more formal program. As happens with many terms which become popular in American education, the teacher center is now a label which can mean just about anything.

In spite of their seeming popularity, teacher centers are not without problems. Many of them in the private and public sectors suffer from lack of money on a continuing basis. At this early stage many teacher centers in both sectors have been funded by grants obtained from governmental agencies or private foundations. Some in the private sector rely on short term contracts with school districts or even teacher contributions for their existence. Teacher

centers which are operated by school districts have generally been started with a "soft money" base. It appears that the insecurity of teacher centers from a financial standpoint does have an effect on their overall quality. It affects their ability to recruit and retain high quality staff, who are often unwilling to commit themselves to a situation where they might be unemployed a year hence. Financial insecurity also affects long range planning and a developing program over time. Planning must first await the availability of resources. It would appear that a major next stage for teacher centers is to clearly show their instructional value, so that they can become part of regular budgeting by public, local, state, and federal agencies.

Another problem faced by teacher centers seems to be in the nature of their conception. No matter where the facility is placed, in other than highly concentrated population centers, the majority of teachers who are to be served consider the teacher center to be too far away to be really useful. In spite of the appeal they hold for many educators it appears that the ideal teacher center can only exist in the building where the individual teacher is functioning. The fact that teachers must travel some distance to make use of services often limits the use made by many teachers. Only those who have specific concerns and are in need of help will make the effort. It would appear that one future possibility in solving this problem is that, as schools become depopulated as a consequence of lower birth rates, empty classrooms in some schools might be developed as satellite or mini teacher centers. Work space and availability of materials would be a beginning.

Another problem that has accompanied the development of teacher centers is the question of operational control. In theory it appears to make sense that teachers who are to receive services should control the teacher center through an elected board which could voice concerns of teachers and have a hand in developing programs reflecting teacher needs. Unfortunately few teacher centers have this sort of operational control. Teacher centers are presently controlled by school boards, educational project directors, universities, and private individuals. Some of these have teacher advisory boards, but this exists too infrequently. If the teacher center movement is to live up to its potential and in fact reflect

a philosophy of addressing teacher needs, there will need to be a strong move for teachers to become more centrally involved in decision making about their operation.

Over-popularity may also be a present problem for the idea of teacher centers. As was pointed out above, the term is heavily overused and can mean almost anything today. The number of teacher centers spawned in the past few years has been most impressive. The problem with this proliferation is that in some areas teacher centers are in direct competition with each other for the opportunity to serve the same population of teachers. In a period of tight funding it appears that this condition cannot exist for too long. A natural shaking down of teacher centers will occur. Hopefully the best and most useful will survive.

The teacher center concept is so practical and useful a notion that it should survive and develop in the general mix of educational services provided for teachers. Their actual survival, however, will depend on the extent teachers find them to be functionally useful and school officials see them serving purposes congruent with those of the schools.

Conclusions About the Advisory System

Advisories and teacher centers arose primarily to serve teachers attempting to change quite dramatically the form and substance of their teaching. Over time they have evolved and taken on broader functions of teacher support which are less tied to one educational viewpoint.

Advisories and teacher centers reflect a nationwide effort which may be unique in American educational history. The effort is aimed at improving educational programs through direct work with teachers and not through organizational or curricular schemes which are delivered to teachers for implementation. In a sense this effort is revolutionary and quite potent. It undoubtedly meets a long term and often expressed need of teachers for specific help. It increases teacher autonomy through a new sense of professionalism and the power which comes from personal competence and knowledge. It affects the very structure of the educational system by bringing to teachers an increased number of alternatives for use in their classrooms, and offers teachers useful allies in the change process.

In a period of limited finances for education both at the local and federal levels the future of advisory functions is unclear. Limitations and cutbacks in the advisory services could come from the fact that they appear to be too costly, or that the form of education being pushed by officials in power makes them unnecessary. If the current trend toward highly structured instructional packages and systems packages and the high degree of interest in computer based education were to become the wave of the future, then the need for the evolving and autonomous professional would be lessened. There would be little need for advisors and teacher centers as they presently exist. The future of advisory systems will depend to a great extent on whether we feel that we can best educate the next generation by investing in people who are the educators, or on things which will control and prescribe for the educators.

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Beyond Accountability

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Behavioral objectives. Performance contracting. State assessment. Management by objectives. Program planning and budgeting. Competency-based education. Cost benefit analysis. National assessment. Performance certification. The list is long, seemingly endless.

All these terms signal an attempt to apply a particular form of rationality—a peculiar form if you will—to the public schools. That this form of rationality is deeply embedded within the fabric of our thinking makes its assumptions seem "natural" and its consequences difficult to ascertain. All these terms represent renewed efforts to impose upon the schools a form of logic and activity which Sergiovanni earlier in this monograph labeled "neo-scientific management."

Like classic "scientific management," this movement, according to Sergiovanni, is also primarily concerned with accountability, control, and efficiency; but instead of this control being exercised through close face-to-face supervision, neo-scientific management has substituted impersonal technical control mechanisms like tests to ensure that the teacher's tasks are being performed successfully. Presumably the teacher's tasks are analyzed in some detail and teachers are held responsible for these tasks; or else standards of performance are identified, such as learning objectives for students, and teachers are held directly responsible for the students' attaining these objectives.

Increase of Neo-Scientific Management

The concern with such supervisory techniques has coincided with the increasing power of the federal and state governments

vis-à-vis the local school system. Both the federal and state governments are attempting to exert more and more authority over local schools, and they have resorted to the techniques listed above in their struggle for control. In the past, local authorities have needed few formalized measures of performance and control since their access to the classroom was immediate.

If a local teacher were having trouble, that information would leak back to the school board and school administration via unhappy parents and students. An administrator or supervisor could be dispatched to investigate the situation and to resolve it in some fashion. This system of control operated on both formal and informal relationships and there was little need to try to hold a teacher responsible for his or her class's standardized test scores. The principal knew that that particular group of youngsters in the class had not done very well last year either, and really did not expect their test performance to be dramatically improved this year. The principal had other, richer, more personal, and more persuasive information sources on which to rely.

This system also responded primarily to minor crises. Direct supervision was energized only when a teacher or student was in some trouble. It did not respond much to the teacher who was doing all right or to the one doing exceptionally well. These teachers were left alone in their classrooms in conformance with the generally accepted norms of educators. Otherwise the supervisor's job was rather routine: disseminate information to the teachers and handle the great amount of clerical work. There was relatively little disturbance in the system and also little chance for improvement. One might call this a traditional society.

With strenuous attempts by the higher levels of government to assume more control over education, this placid scene has been disturbed. State boards of education and state administrators can hardly use the same monitoring techniques as local schools. They look for simple ways to exercise increased control. Test scores are one such way. They provide a number to grab hold of, the easiest kind of information to grasp. Thus there is an abundance of state-assessment schemes and various attempts to allocate school monies on the basis of test scores. Unfortunately, these simplistic measures do not represent the complexity of education.

The seizure of control over the schools by the higher governments has its roots in several conditions. Having secured the income tax as its base of funding, the federal government found itself with a surplus of funds in the 60's. These funds were put into social programs, particularly educational programs, by the Johnson administration. This surplus quickly dried up, however, in the funding of the Vietnam War. Ways had to be found to hold down such domestic spending, a phenomenon which occurred in Victorian England after the expenses of the Crimean War. In both cases payment by test results became popular.

At the same time many minority groups expressed unhappiness with the schools for failing to provide equal opportunities for their children, especially in the inner cities. This criticism often focused on the poor reading scores of black children in these schools. Although these two forces wanted quite different ends—one wanted decreased costs and one wanted better schooling—both could support incentive systems that held schools and teachers directly accountable for test results. Implicit in these two positions were rather different conceptualizations of accountability. One demanded greater productivity by decreasing costs and the other demanded increased responsiveness to minority groups.

The tools for so holding the schools "accountable" were largely management concepts derived from the business world. A concept like PPBS was developed by economists for budgetary control, implemented in large corporations, brought to the Pentagon by McNamara and his group, and intentionally spread to other agencies of the federal government also in the Johnson era. It has been vigorously promoted by agencies of the federal government, many state governments, and many private groups such as the chambers of commerce in various states.

Callahan (1962) has documented how the earlier efficiency movement was incorporated into the thinking of the nation's school administrators in the early part of this century. More recently, in the type of traditional setting described earlier, the dominant type of management orientation has been that of the human relations expert. Since supervisors seldom directly affect teachers in the privacy of the classroom, the best they can do is improve the teachers' morale and help ensure that they are happy in their work.

It was assumed happier teachers will embrace the goals of the organization more readily and, as Sergiovanni suggests, be more pliable to the directives of the organization. Essentially, however, teachers are still given only very limited decision powers outside the classroom. They are treated more like human beings but often are objects of great paternalism. This seems to be the dominant theme of school supervision over the past decade.

Methods of "Accountability"

Very recently many educators have swung to the neo-scientific school. This reflects a shift from human relations, always used as a means of increasing job efficiency, to a direct concern with efficiency and control but now the control will be exercised by measuring the outcomes of schooling and allocating resources on these measures, a type of "quality-control" operation.

Perhaps the most prominent and articulate salesman for this approach has been Leon Lessinger. According to Lessinger, accountability "promises a major and long overdue redevelopment of the management of the present educational system, including an overhaul of its cottage-industry form of organization. Many believe this can be accomplished by making use of modern techniques currently employed in business and industry . . . If education is going to be able to manage its budget properly, it must devise measurable relationships between dollars spent and results obtained" (Lessinger, 1971). Lessinger's best example to "assure the achievement of results" is performance contracting.

Although performance contracting itself has been somewhat discredited now because of cheating at Texarkana and lack of results in a U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity experiment (OEO, 1972), the basic management model of specifying objectives and measuring those objectives still lies behind neo-scientific thinking. "At its most basic level, it means that an agent, public or private, entering into a contractual agreement to perform a service will be held answerable for performing according to agreed-upon terms, within an established time period, and with a stipulated use of resources and performance standards" (Lessinger, 1971).

Very similar ideas form the basis of social action in other fields such as political science and economics. In fact, James G. March

(1972) suggests that modern management rests on such ideas. First, individuals or groups are seen as having a set of objectives that they pursue through action. The problems of social action are seen as discovering a set of acceptable objectives; second, finding a set of activities to achieve those objectives; third, evaluating the achievement of the objectives, and modifying future activities better to achieve the objectives. Although this conceptualization of decision making and of management seems "natural" to us because it is so embedded in our thinking, according to March it does in fact reflect strong cultural biases which do not always conform to reality and of which we are seldom aware. There are three key ideas.

The first pivotal idea is the "preexistence of purpose." It seems almost unquestionable to us that an *a priori* set of purposes exists whether called "objectives," "needs," "values," or whatever. Justifications for organizational, and even personal, actions begin with attempts to define the purpose of an organization. In education this assumption of *a priori* ordering of preferences is best exemplified in the behavioral objectives movement which says that one cannot do anything–develop, evaluate, or whatever–until one has defined the objectives one wishes to achieve; and these must be made as explicit and as specific as possible. The great majority of evaluators and most accountability schemes demand prior explication of objectives. Otherwise how will one know where he or she is going? The behavioral objectives mentality has also penetrated far into supervision in the form of management by objectives and other attempts to get the supervisor to define objectives for the teacher.

The second key idea, according to March, is the "necessity of consistency." Actions must be related to goals. In the organization, consistency is manifested in the hierarchy of administration and exercised through coordination and control efforts emanating from above. It is the task of administration to see that these objectives are successfully pursued.

The third idea is the "primacy of rationality." As used here, rationality means correct behavior is defined by systematically relating consequences to objectives–a means-end relationship. This eliminates other reasons for making choices such as intuition, tradition, or faith. Organizational action must be justified in terms of

means and ends. Sometimes this intense press for consistency and rationality is useful. Rational consistency is almost synonymous with our parochial definition of intelligence. But sometimes the model is not useful but debilitating. We may have reached such a time when this model of decision making and behaving has become too inflexible to help us with our current problems.

It is not difficult when we look at this model that so shapes our thinking to see serious flaws in it. For example, how often do preexistent objectives really exist? Probably no more often than they do not. People and organizations are just as often looking for goals and purpose as having clearly found them. What is more, goals change, organizations change, and people change. There is no way in modern management technology to account for an emerging goal structure as opposed to a precise, static one. Yet it is clearly the case that goals are sought as frequently as they are defined. If goals continually change and emerge, how can we evaluate people and hold them accountable for consistent behavior in line with their objectives?

Our Problem: Not "Efficiency" but Direction

At a time when most major Western institutions seem to be in serious trouble, what needs to be looked at most seriously: the values and goals on which those organizations are based or more effective and efficient methods of achieving the prespecified goals? Unfortunately, the search for new and better purposes is impeded by the restrictive model of consistent rationality as applied to both our thinking and our organizations. Our problem is not one of efficiency but one of direction. Where should we be going?

Victor A. Thompson (1969) has outlined the way in which tight internal programming greatly inhibits innovation and new ideas in an organization. When the objectives of the organization are conceived as residing exclusively with the owner of an organization, as in a modern corporate bureaucracy, then any "slack" in resources is regarded as surplus belonging to the owner's profits. The logic of the corporation is that it be completely programmed so that it be perfectly efficient in achieving the owner's goals. Only those resources are expended that achieve those objectives and any surplus belongs to the owner. This is the extreme example of

consistent rationality as applied to management and to supervision.

The ultimate effect is to prohibit any innovation in the organization since all resources are fully programmed and committed to preset goals. Since innovation requires abundant resources for "playing around," only the owner has even the capacity to innovate. Being totally programmed to preset goals, the organization as a whole and the parts of the organization have no capacity for responding to their own environment. They have no capacity for change except whatever might be mounted from a far-distant owner-controlled center. The organization has, in fact, lost flexibility to adjust. What the organization gains is efficiency. It costs less to achieve the designated goals.

Of course, the schools are not owner-controlled. Yet they too are programmed to their tasks by having to handle so many students so many hours a day. Being a public institution there is another severe complication in defining a set of preexistent objectives: the public is not agreed on what goals the school should achieve. Careful analysis of goals desired by the public reveals a great deal of inconsistency and self-contradictory goals. Different groups want different things. One group wants more creativity in the schools, another wants discipline. One group wants better materials, another wants lower taxes.

Operating on preexistent goal models over the past few years, school people have often tried to define what the public wants by "needs assessments." The lack of a public consensus and public disagreement are often glossed over by poor measurement techniques and manipulating the measurement process. In practice, administrators survive by presenting the public with a mixed bag of educational programs. Some programs stress traditional values like learning the basic skills. Others stress innovation. The administrator tries to satisfy diverse audiences, including the public, by presenting them with a diverse set of programs. Seldom, if ever, is there a precisely defined set of objectives embraced by everyone in a general public consensus. In fact, values and objectives pursued by the school are often in conflict with one another.

All social theory is a myth, which is not to say that all social theory is equally useful or good or true. The model of modern management that shapes our thinking perceives the goals of an

organization as being defined by the owner or the organizational elite. These goals are transformed into specific objectives which are then passed downward in the organization to supervisors and workers who try to implement the goals. Legitimacy of goal definition resides in the upper part of this hierarchy. The necessity to obey resides in the workers and the lower supervisors. Control and efficiency are the major values imbedded in this structure. Only those things defined by the upper elite can legitimately be pursued and, of course, these must be pursued efficiently. This conceptualization of organization and management robs those at the lower level of any initiative they may wish to exercise. Ideas do not come from the bottom. In fact, there is only one set of legitimate ideas.

Communication among the levels of the organization, the installation of appropriate values for those in key positions in the organization, and motivation for those lower in the organization become the prime concerns in this concept of management. The workers are seen as primarily passive; they must be acted upon. So the goals and the objectives are defined by the organizational elite and communicated to the lower orders. Human relations plays its role in "motivating" the workers by making them feel that someone cares about them and perhaps that they have a "participatory" voice in decisions. But the duties and privileges of individuals are determined by preset rules. Relations among individuals are determined by authority and interdependence. Control is from the top; workers have circumscribed areas of decision. In this organizational concept, workers cannot be motivated by intrinsic rewards from the work process itself for that could lead them to pursue different directions.

In order for control to be effectively implemented, the workers must respond to external incentives in the organization, for the external incentives are, presumably, under the control of the organizational management. If the management relies on intrinsic motivation, the workers are much less under their control. If the job is too varied, interesting, or creative, the workers may not work as efficiently. A worker pursuing intrinsic motivation may proceed in a direction entirely his or her own. This is not legitimate in this conception of administration and supervision.

Earlier in this monograph Sergiovanni pointed out differences

in motivation between hygienic and motivation factors. Achievement, responsibility, and intrinsic rewards from the work itself were not often used as motivators in the situations reported. It is not enough simply to have teachers feel that someone cares about them or knows their first names. Rather, they must be given real responsibility, real decision-making authority. Such a conceptualization of organization and management entails a different conception of control than that suggested by neo-scientific management or human relations.

Making Organizations More Client-Centered

It may be that, if we are to have more responsive organizations, organizations attuned to the needs of their clients, organizations flexible enough to adjust to and interact with their environment, then we need to loosen the bonds of internal consistency, preset goals, precise management, and evaluation of those goals implicit in our current model of administration and supervision. We may need patterns in schools that look for new purposes and new ideas as opposed to trying to implement those already preset. They may treat the child as an emergent phenomenon, each one being somewhat different and proceeding through a search process to some unknown destination rather than requiring a precisely defined set of content to be inculcated in the child's mind.

March has suggested that an organization can become more playful in a valuable sort of way by treating goals as hypotheses rather than received doctrine. This means that one might pursue alternative goals and even experiment with goals and values that are not entirely clear or precisely defined. The organization could more often treat intuition as real, put more reliance into intuition as a way of knowing—as perceiving the holistic situation as opposed to relying exclusively on precisely defined but necessarily fragmented techniques. Decision making might be viewed as a search after more interesting, better goals and purposes.

Similarly, evaluation might take on new form. As March notes, there is nothing in a formal theory of evaluation that requires that the criterion function for evaluation be specified in advance. An educational program can be evaluated without specifying the degree to which the program has achieved its *a priori* objectives. It is

possible to examine the program in terms of what we now believe to be important or even to discover new criteria derived from our own experience or other sources which might be used to evaluate new programs. Scriven's goal-free evaluation (1973) and Stake's responsive evaluation (1973) are strong steps in this direction in the field of educational evaluation.

Responsive Evaluation

Scriven suggests that the evaluator look for the effects of the educational program which may have little to do with the program's prior objectives. The effects might be much better or much worse than what the prior objectives would indicate. Stake's responsive evaluation suggests that the evaluation change, grow, and develop along with the project. The project may be evaluated in terms of emerging criteria, and issues take on new importance as the project itself changes and develops. The evaluation is responsive to the project itself. These are radically different conceptions of educational evaluation and conceptions not held by the majority of evaluators; but if schools and educational projects are to change and grow and evolve, then different evaluation procedures than the primary criterion of internal consistency must be applied.

Within schools one might imagine a situation in which teachers are given considerably more autonomy than that suggested by current supervisory theory and particularly by current accountability theory. One would expect the teachers to develop and pursue new goals. Educational development would be viewed more as an evolutionary process rather than a deductive process from *a priori* principles. This would require a more supportive and facilitative role for supervisors than the one they now play. For example, Elliott and others in England have helped teachers research the problems of their own classrooms by working together with groups of teachers. Yet the problems are defined by the teachers themselves and they learn skills which eventually make them students of their own classrooms and more autonomous as such. This exercise of responsibility and autonomy brings into play those higher motivations suggested by Sergiovanni. At the same center in England, the Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of

East Anglia, Barry MacDonald and his colleagues have attempted to define a more democratic evaluation: one based on case study technique in which the conclusions and decisions of the evaluator are not explicit in the report but rather are made by those who read the report.

These approaches make the organization considerably more dynamic, more democratic, and more flexible since there are many sources of legitimacy and sources of new ideas. They reduce the control of a central group. But, these approaches may result in less efficiency. Again, the accountability concept emphasized is that of institutional responsiveness to the clients as opposed to greater productivity and efficiency in production.

As Sergiovanni notes, the curriculum-centered classroom in which teacher influence and student influence are both low offers little enrichment potential for either. Consider accountability schemes which spell out in minute detail the objectives that are to be accomplished within the classroom. Teacher and students have little influence on what ends they shall pursue. Indeed, in many cases even the means are delimited by the precision of the ends intended. This is how neo-scientific accountability schemes are constructed. On the other hand, in the integrated classroom, in Sergiovanni's definition, both teacher influence and student influence are high in determining what shall be done and this determination need not be spelled out in advance. The deeper personality traits of both teacher and students can come into play in such a situation. Who could determine what these traits would be in advance?

Toward a Collegial Type of Organization

The interaction of these personalities with the teaching materials and each other can be evaluated but they are evaluated by reference to what is occurring in that particular situation. There may be criteria that one wishes to apply in most cases as the humaneness of the classroom situation, but that will not always be the case. This type of search and responsiveness to the concrete situation requires great supervisory resources. It is not cheap. It requires more ability and more resources than mechanical approaches such as prespecifying objectives. It is not easily automated

or technologized, but such an approach is not any less accountable than current ones. It is a different kind of accountability, in which the institutions are more accountable to their people.

What would an accountability scheme that did not emphasize *a priori* goals and internal consistency look like? Hills (1974) has suggested that the current overwhelming emphasis on external controls and close supervision as demonstrated by the current accountability movement can only diminish the responsibility and commitment of teachers and educators. Such accountability schemes would reduce teachers to the level of a class of employees. According to Hills, by far the more promising approach to social control in education is through more complete professionalization of teachers. The schools should move toward a collegial type of internal organization which heretofore has been characteristic only of the university. Hills draws heavily on organizational theory to illustrate that the integrity of teachers' commitments to their task cannot be bought or coerced.

Similarly, Combs (1972) suggests that teachers cannot be held responsible for the behavior of their students any more than one person can be responsible for the behavior of anyone else. Teachers can be held accountable for being informed in subject matter. They can be held accountable for being concerned about the welfare of students and knowledgeable about their students' behavior. They can be held responsible for an understanding of human behavior, particularly behavior of their students. Teachers can be held responsible for the purposes that they try to carry out and to be aware of purposes. Finally, teachers can be held responsible for the methods that they use in carrying out their own and society's purposes. Teachers do not have to be able to guarantee outcomes; rather they must defend what they are doing in a professional sense. They must be able to withstand the professional scrutiny of their colleagues. All these criteria bespeak a heightened degree of professionalization.

Such a move away from neo-scientific techniques does not mean that teachers would not be evaluated. Elsewhere I have indicated (House, 1974) what such an evaluation system might look like, one that portrayed the complexity of the classroom and of the teacher's world without subjecting the teacher to unfair and arbi-

trary judgments. Such a system would involve many types of judgment, ratings by superiors, supervisors, principals, peers, students; but there would be no single outcome derivable from the class. Rather, there would be multiple outcome data. There would be data on the activities going on in the classroom itself. There would be data from many different sources, and the data would rely heavily on professional judgments. Furthermore, it is imperative that this kind of data be mediated by human judgment. I would insist in any evaluation scheme that all this kind of data be submitted to a committee on which is represented a teacher's peers, supervisors, parents, students if they are old enough, and perhaps an evaluation expert. No number or fact should stand without the context and such a group could provide it. All this is by way of saying that the school as an institution should be more sensitive to the needs of the individual child, and recognizing that this is not easily accomplished.

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